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OF THE

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THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Provisional Report for the Year 1905.

(PLATE I.)

(THE report of last Season's work must necessarily be of a somewhat summary character. The fuller description and elaborate plans and sections required for the due illustration of the results of the complete excavation of the Grand Staircase will find a more fitting place in the forthcoming general work on the Palace. On the other hand as it was only possible to lay bare a section of the large building on the hill to the West of the Palace, it has seemed undesirable at present to publish anything beyond a very brief account of the portion as yet explored, except so far as relates to the Shrine of the Fetish Idols. I have only to add that throughout the recent explorations I had, as before, the valued cooperation of my assistant Dr. Mackenzie.)

§ 1.—THE MAGAZINES ALONG THE MINOAN ROADWAY.

It will be remembered that one of the principal results of the Campaign of 1905 was the opening out of a paved Minoan way, running due West from the 'Theatral Area,' and forming, indeed, the continuation of the paved Causeway that bisected this. Facing this on the North side has been further brought to light an important Magazine, containing clay documents in the linear script (B) referring to the Royal chariots, spears,

bows and arrows, together with the remains of two sealed coffers which had been used as repositories for the actual arrows. During the present season the work of excavating this Magazine was completed, and additional tablets and bronze arrows were brought out. From the relation of these finds to the remains of fallen pavement it was clear that the deposits of tablets and arrows had originally lain on the floor of a room above the basement Magazines. The work of delimitation that it was now possible to carry out showed that the Magazines themselves were not an integral part of a larger structure but formed a building by themselves. This was of oblong shape, in outside measurement 18·70 metres N.–S. by 11·55 E.–W., the narrower side S. facing the roadway. The basement consisted of a corridor with four Magazines opening on it, that to the South being larger than the others. Separated from this building, at a mean distance of about a metre and a half, was another parallel structure with a slightly divergent orientation: for the time being, however, only the Eastern border of this could be excavated.

On the opposite or Southern side of the Minoan way the faces of other buildings were traceable, and it looks as if the whole course of the road had been lined with Palace dependencies, very probably magazines like that excavated. Owing to the mass of superincumbent earth, the overlying Graeco-Roman structures, and the considerable area involved, the task of excavating these buildings could not be at present pursued further. Their eventual exploration may greatly enrich the stock of inscribed tablets.

§ 2.—THE HOUSE OF THE FETISH SHRINE.

In my preceding Report I had already expressed the conviction that the careful planning of the Minoan roadway in conformity with the general orientation of the Palace lines and abutting at right angles on the 'Theatral Area' tended to show 'that it was principally planned as an avenue of approach to some monumental structure on the opposite hillside.' For this reason all our efforts were now concentrated on the fuller clearing out of the roadway throughout its slightly uphill course in the direction of the modern road to Candia. To make the evidence clearer the section of a Roman road above, provisionally left in 1904, was now removed, and a further well preserved double line of Minoan pavement thus exposed.

Beyond this point it was found that we had been somewhat misled by some rough paving, representing a rough patching of the left wing of the roadway, and that the central lines of the Minoan slabbing really took a more Northerly bend than we had hitherto realized. This tendency increased at the point at which the paving passed under the modern road.

Deep and extensive excavations were now undertaken in the area immediately beyond the modern road, in the course of which two wells, one of Roman date, the other at any rate post-Minoan, were brought to light. The great accumulation of soil from the steep above made this work extremely difficult, and after the narrow escape of three of our workmen from the falling in of the side of a pit it was thought advisable to relinquish it.

The hillside above this, to which the last explored section of the Minoan Way pointed, is to a great extent covered by an olive-wood. Hitherto our trial-pits in search of the important building which, according to the indications supplied, ought to exist hereabouts had been made near the Southern borders of this plantation. The tendency however exhibited by the last section of the Minoan pavement led us now to look in a more North-Westerly direction. On a clear space which opened on this side of the olive-wood I now decided to dig an exploratory trench twenty-four metres in length by two and a half in width.

This work speedily led to a successful result. Already, about a metre from the surface at the south end of the trench, a stratum of terracotta-coloured earth was encountered which is the usual concomitant of Minoan remains. This tawny red earth is very clearly distinguishable from the pale grey earth of the Hellenic and Roman strata. It seems in the main to have been the effect produced by conflagration on the sun-dried clay bricks of which a large part of the upper storey walls of houses seems to have been composed. A good deal of this brick construction was in fact found this year in the upper part of the walls of the North-East Magazines (see Fig. 1) and remains of it were subsequently brought to light on the present site (see below, Fig. 2). In this tawny earth was presently found part of an inscribed clay tablet—the first instance of such a discovery at Knossos outside the Palace and its immediate dependencies. For this reason the new tablet seemed to be the presage of the existence of some important building on this side, and, later in the day, in addition to rubble walls, part of the pavement of a Court was brought to light, presenting three column bases.

The building thus struck proved to be of considerable extent, and there is every reason for supposing that it was a principal objective of the Minoan Paved Way. Of this building it was possible to explore the Eastern section for a length of about thirty-one metres N.–S.—the extreme width of the part that we were able to excavate E.–W. being twenty-one metres. Further excavation westward into the slope of the hill had to be abandoned for the present season owing to the increasing depth of the

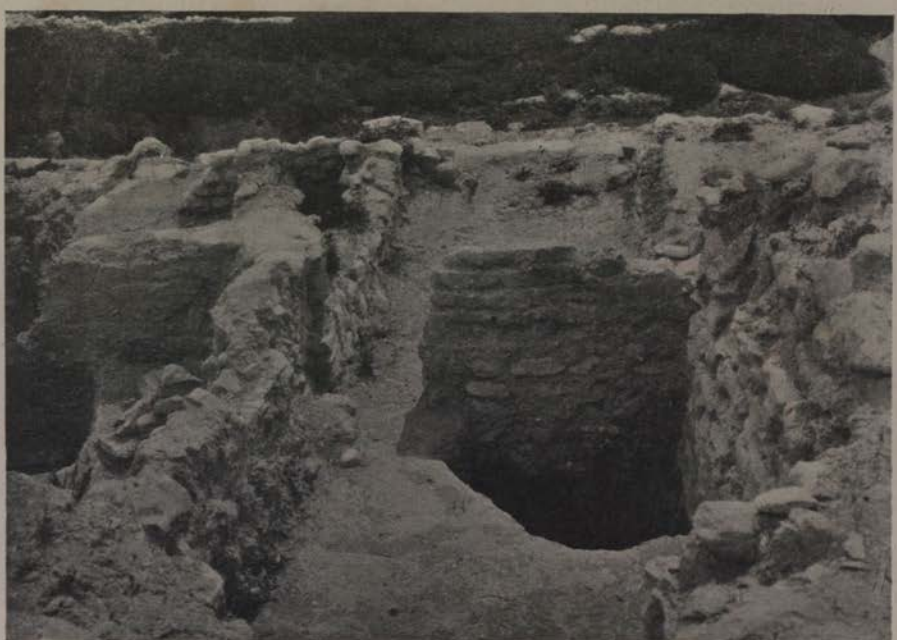


FIG. 1.—UPPER PART OF WALLS OF MAGAZINES IN N.E. QUARTER OF PALACE, SHOWING BRICK COURSES ABOVE RUBBLE MASONRY.

superincumbent earth and to the olive-grove above. That some extension on this side is to be expected however may be judged from the fact that at the South end of the building a section of a finely constructed outer wall, faced with gypsum slabs and provided with a plinth, was found, running straight into the hill-side.

This wall recalled on a smaller scale the West wall of the Palace, and

was probably bordered to the South by a Court answering to the West Court of the Palace. It seems probable that a little East of the point where the gypsum wall breaks off there had been a principal entrance to what were evidently the reception rooms of the house. A little North of this, a line of doorways, remains of three of which were exposed, with a double step up between each, leads to a small paved Court surrounded by a portico, originally of nine columns. This in turn led to a line of five door jambs leading to a Megaron of the usual Minoan type with similar jambs, which could serve either for doors or light openings, fronting its inner section. On the East side of this again were further jambs opening on a portico with column bases beyond. The whole thus formed a stately system, in several respects recalling the arrangement of the 'Hall of the Double Axes.' The covered part of this Megaron, as distinct from the peristyle and portico, represented an area of about 103 square metres as against 147 square metres in the case of the covered part of the 'Hall of the Double Axes.'

To the West of this system were the inner and more private rooms, of which only a part is as yet excavated. Many traces of upper-stories were here visible, one of the walls presenting very visible remains of its sun-dried brick construction (Fig. 2). The bricks were about 45 centimetres square and 12 high. On this side, flanking the Columnar Court, was a stone staircase, of which two flights and remains of a third were preserved, though they had sunk considerably beneath their original level.

From what has been already said it will be seen that the building on the West Hill reproduces on a reduced scale the leading features of the Palace of Knossos as finally remodelled about the beginning of the Late Minoan Period. It is indeed to that period that the earliest relics found within it belong. In other respects its history reflects the various phases of the Later Palace. Here too, as there, were abundant traces of later occupation during the more decadent period of Minoan civilization and of the breaking up of the seignorial halls into the dwellings of humbler denizens. We do not here indeed find traces of such a cataclysmic break between the two periods of habitation as is visible in some parts of the Palace area. Rather the change that here took place was similar to what seems to have taken place in parts of the Domestic Quarter of the Palace,—rooms not wholly destroyed and with their posts and beams substantially intact, having been simply parcelled out and reoccupied. Thus the two

sections of the great Hall were made into separate dwellings by blocking up the lines of doorways with rubble masonry, which abutted on the massive original door-posts. It is clear moreover that the wood, long since carbonized by the conflagration of the final catastrophe, was at that time unconsumed. This blocking process has thus had the effect of preserving to a greater extent than would otherwise have been the case the shape of the

FIG. 2.—PART OF UPPER WALL IN HOUSE OF FETISH SHRINE, SHOWING BRICK CONSTRUCTION.

original woodwork which has left its impress on the later rubble and plaster, and to this fact is due the most interesting architectural revelation of the building.

Separated from the hall of the many door-ways by a passage-way, was

a small balustraded space, recalling those which in the Cretan Palaces may at times have served as bath-rooms, but which fulfilled as well the architectural functions of light-wells and *impluvia.* During the period of reoccupation, the openings between three of the wooden columns which had originally stood on the round stone bases of the balustrade on the side facing the small corridor had been blocked and half of their diameter had been embedded in a clay and rubble walling, which must effectually have shut out the light from the passage-way. So it came about that, when later the wooden shafts themselves were destroyed by fire, they left in the plaster of the wall behind them almost perfect casts of their embedded halves.

A careful examination of the back wall thus brought out sufficient remains of these moulds of columns to illustrate what, so far as Minoan architecture is concerned, must be regarded as a new type. Columns of this period with the ordinary incave fluting—the prototype of the Doric—were already known, but in this case the fluting was in relief, a moulding obviously taken over from Egyptian columns imitating clustered papyrus stems or sheafs of reeds. An analogy for such an architectural borrowing had indeed already been forthcoming, in the shape of a pedestal of a lamp of purple gypsum, found in the Palace in 1900, presenting a quatrefoil section and terminating above in a capital forming the basin of the lamp, the decoration of which combined lotus buds and papyrus leaves. In the present case the wall has not been sufficiently preserved above to supply impressions of the capitals, but the relieved flutings were apparently twenty in number.[1] This, it will be observed, answers to the usual number of the ordinary incave flutings according to the Doric canon.

Further balustrades, in each case with a single column base, ran along the North and South sides of this small enclosed space, but here the wooden columns, of which the charred remains were found, had not been embedded in any subsequent structure. An entrance passage opened in the balustrade to the North, approached in the same manner as the light-well or *impluvium* of the Throne Room, by a descending flight of much decayed gypsum steps (apparently six in number). The floor of the inner area, however, did not, as had been the rule in similar cases, show any traces of a stone pavement.

[1] At half a metre from the base the diameter of the columns was 30 centimetres, and the width of the flutings was as nearly as possible 5 centimetres.

It must be said at once that any theory involving the assumption that these stepped balustraded spaces, of which so many examples have now accumulated at Knossos, Phaestos, and elsewhere, were exclusively designed to perform the architectural function of light-wells or *impluvia* is not by itself sufficient. In this case, indeed, the tricolumnar opening of the balustrade could only have supplied light to a narrow passage-way, while the rooms to South and West which might have been expected to profit by this space as a source of light were completely walled off. That to the North could at most have derived a very indirect light from it through two narrow doorways (see plan: Fig. 3). It rather looks moreover as if the Western section of the inner area may have been from the first roofed over.

As to the later use of this small balustraded enclosure, when the openings between the columns on its East side had been blocked and the whole of the area probably roofed over, interesting and conclusive evidence was forthcoming. Previous to its excavation there had already come to light (see Fig. 3. G) in the neighbouring room to the South, at some height above its floor-level, a curious natural block which, as later became apparent, had made its way to the position in which it was found from the other side of the adjoining wall. From the quasi-human aspect of this block, itself a limestone concretion, I at once expressed the opinion that we had to do with a fetish image, which indeed from its characteristic conformation might well be that of a Mother Goddess.

The presumption that this grotesque concretion was an object of fetish cult received striking corroboration when the small adjoining space to the North came to be dug out. The relics there found supplied in fact the clearest evidence that, during the concluding period of its occupation, this balustraded area had served the purpose of a domestic chapel.

Great havoc and destruction had fallen on the little shrine at the time of the final destruction of the building. Its finely carved columns had been burnt to ashes, its contents cast hither and thither. On the gypsum ledge at the South end, however, in the space between the pillar-base on this side and the inner wall, there still rested—with traces of the usual layer of pebbles round—'horns of Consecration,' the unfailing concomitant of Minoan sanctuaries. The horns were of plaster, resembling those placed on the ledge of the Palace Shrine of the Double Axes and associated with the clay figures of the Dove Goddess and her Votaries. But in this case, beside them, in place of such images 'made with hands,' were the

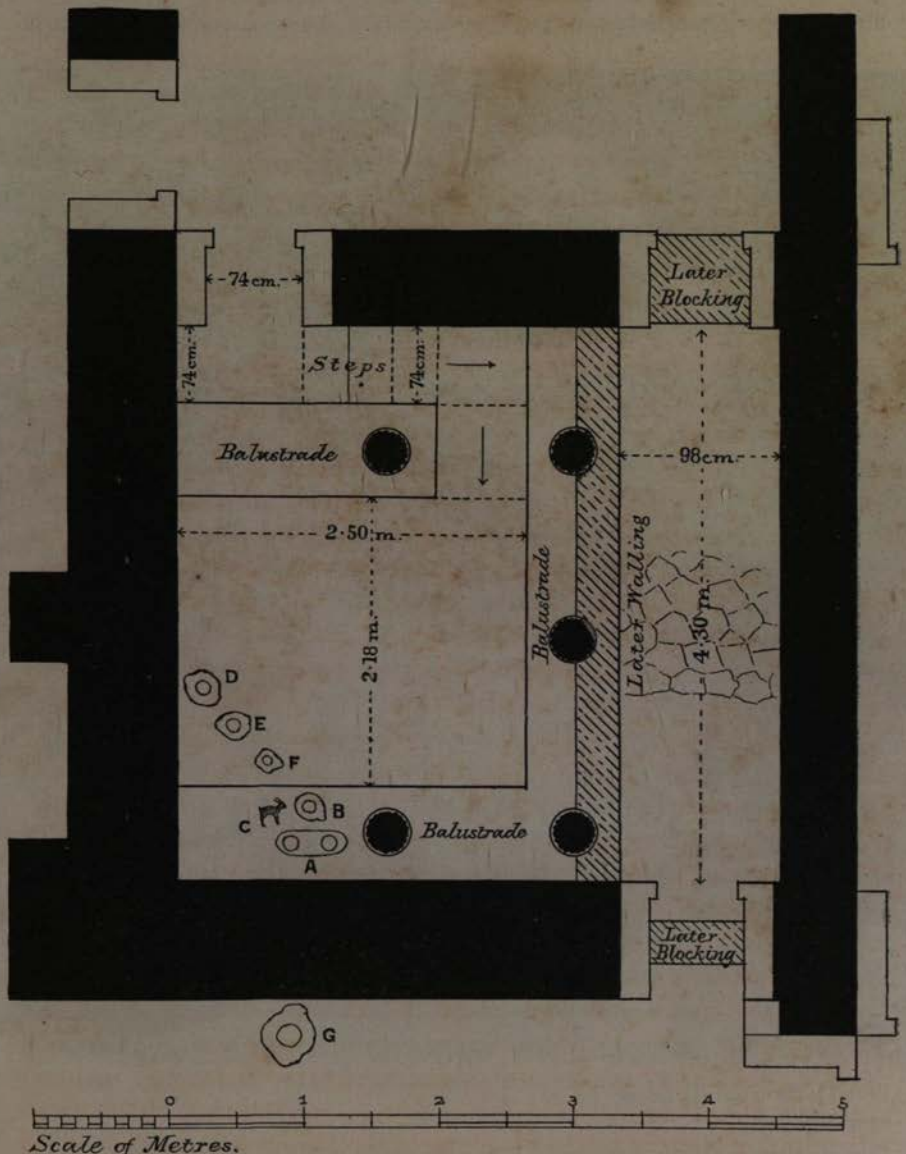


FIG. 3 —PLAN OF SECTION OF HOUSE SHOWING BALUSTRADE AREA AND FETISH SHRINE.

fetish idols of a much more archaic cult. One still in position by the ritual horns, others dispersed about the inner area, another, the largest of all, which

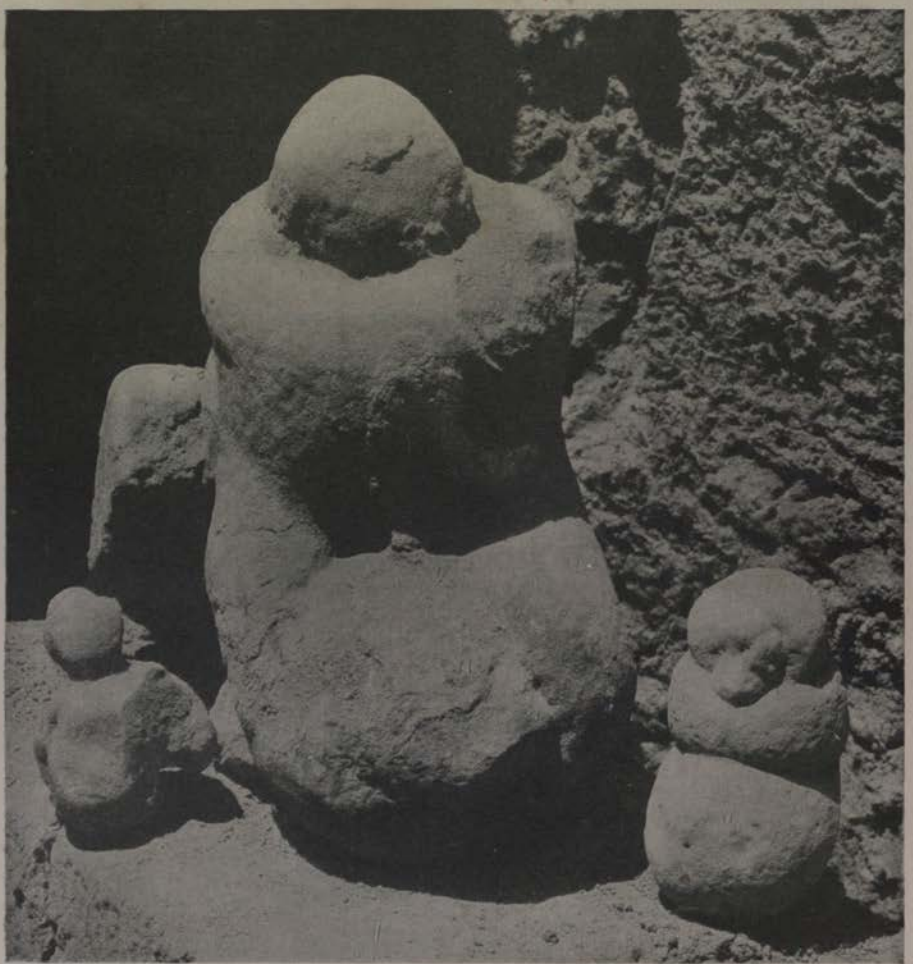


FIG. 4.—FETISH IMAGES OF NATURAL FORMATION IN FORM OF MOTHER, CHILD, AND APE.

had already arrested our attention, tumbled over the wall into the adjoining chamber,—evidently by violators of the shrine,—were a series of grotesque

concretions of quasi-human appearance, like the first described (see Fig. 4). Some were quite small,—one of ape-like aspect recalling the bizarre flint forms—survivals of a similar religious stage—found by Professor Petrie in the Temple of Abydos.[1] The largest and principal figure was evidently chosen from its resemblance to a woman of ample and matronly contours, Another smaller nodule curiously suggested an infant. This latter[2] was still in position by the sacral horns and near it was a rude figure of a Cretan wild goat or *agrimi* of painted clay together with fragments of others (see plan, Fig. 3).

It is difficult not to conclude in view of the contents of this shrine that we have here to do in its most primitive guise with the traditional Cretan cult of Mother Rhea and the infant Zeus,—the divine offspring actually appearing in the form of his sacred stone or *βαίτυλος*. Nor is Nurse Amaltheia wanting to complete the group. In the matronly fetish of natural stone we must certainly recognize the same Nature Goddess that we find so constantly recurring in Minoan religious art with her male satellite, her sacred Double Axes and lion guardians, and the doves or snakes that alternately present her in a celestial or a chthonic aspect.

It would appear from the blocking of the colonnade in front that during the last period of the building this inner area had been entirely covered in and reduced to a dark closet. We have here then a domestic shrine analogous to that fitted up during the re-occupation period in a small back room of the South-East House.[3]

Was this dedication of the balustraded area to religious uses an entire innovation, or was it rather the re-adaptation of what had been designed from the first as a domestic shrine? The triple arrangement of the balustrade, showing a façade with three columns and two wings, each containing a single column, is certainly suggestive of the Minoan pillar-shrines. The architectural functions of light-well and *impluvium* are quite reconcilable with that of a small hypaethral sanctuary, and it is moreover possible that according to the original plan the back part of the inner area was covered over. It is at any rate certain that in excavating the space inside the balustrade certain fragmentary relics came to light

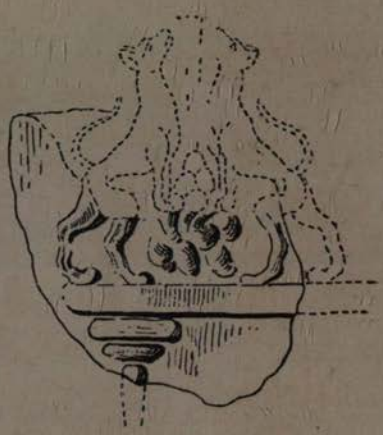
[1] Petrie, *Abydos*, Pt. ii. Pl. VI.

[2] The 'infant' is shown to the left of the 'Mother' fetish in Fig. 4. The ape-like figure is seen to the right.

[3] Report: *Knossos*, *B.S.A.* 1903, p. 12.

which might well have belonged to the fittings of an earlier shrine. These relics included convex crystal disks like those of the Royal Gaming Board, part of an exquisite faïence vase with nautilus reliefs, and two or three corkscrew curls of bronze, of larger size but otherwise resembling those inserted in the heads of the animated ivory figures found in the Palace, and probably belonging to the treasury of a sanctuary.

Among the fragmentary clay sealings belonging to the earlier part of the building brought to light in the same area or the immediate vicinity, were several of religious import, two of these indeed exhibiting parts of façades of shrines. The fragment reproduced in Fig. 5 shows the raised arm of an adorant



FIGS. 5 AND 6.—SEAL IMPRESSIONS, SHOWING PARTS OF SANCTUARIES (⅔).

before a small columnar temple with wings, and with the sacral horns placed on the entablature. In Fig. 6 we see an architrave supporting what seems to be intended for a group of sculpture in the round representing a lion-guarded peak like that on which a series of seal-impressions from the Palace shows the armed Goddess standing. In the present case it is uncertain whether the rocky pyramid was surmounted by any other object; but there could hardly, in any case, have been room for a divine figure.

Another seal-impression found here, also of a good period (apparently Late Minoan II.), imperfect as it is, shows the essential parts of a design of exceptional interest (Fig. 7). We see here a one-masted vessel with

rowers beneath an awning, upon which, not represented as in the hold but superposed on the whole design, stands the greater part of the figure of a noble horse. The superposition must be here taken to be a graphic way of indicating the cargo, and, if so, we have a contemporary record of the first importation of horses into Crete. As a matter of fact, it is during this, the earlier part of the Late Minoan period, synchronizing with

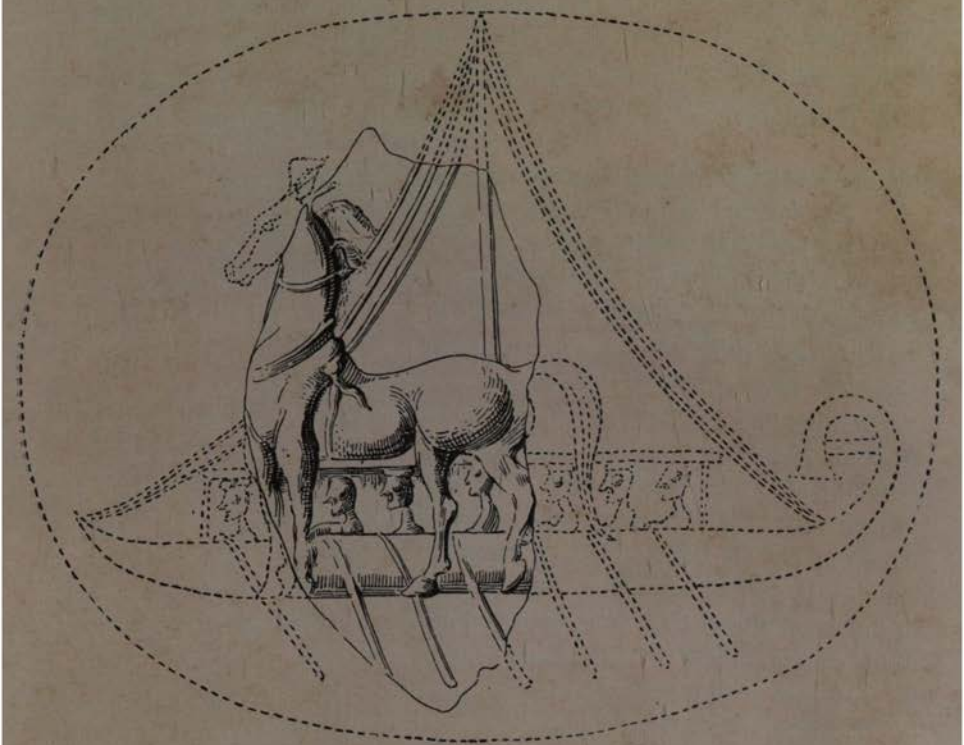


FIG. 7.—SEAL IMPRESSION WITH DESIGN COMPLETED, SHOWING HORSE ABOVE SHIP (½).

the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt, that the horse first makes its appearance on Minoan monuments. It is represented together with the Royal chariots on the clay documents of the Palace, just as during the same age it appears on the tombstones and the somewhat later frescoes of Mycenae. A noteworthy feature in the present example,

as on the horses of the tablets and the frescoes, is the binding up of the mane in a series of tufts. We have here the coming of the thoroughbred horse.

The exact correspondence between the dressing of the mane here shown and that of the horses on the fragmentary frescoes found in the Megaron of the Palace at Mycenae[1] may be taken as a fair indication that we have to do with the same stock. It is therefore interesting to observe that the colour of the horses on the Mycenae frescoes, where the surface tint has not been destroyed by burning, is a deep bay. In conformity, as Professor Ridgeway has shown, with Libyan custom, but contrary to the usual Asiatic and European practice,[2] they had nose-bands in place of bits. It would seem then that the owner of the present seal was engaged in the transport of the first horses into Minoan Crete across the Libyan Sea.[3]

The uncouth natural fetishes of the domestic chapel compare strangely with the beautiful faïence images of the Snake Goddess and her votaries found in the Temple Repository of the Palace itself. Yet these latter are of much earlier date than the contents of the present shrine, which belong to the latest period during which the house was inhabited. It looks as if the rustic recrudescence of the cult that we see here may have been due to the coming up to the surface of more plebeian elements in the whirligig of Minoan history. The kings are less, the people more, and the princely building now partially explored, like the great Palace opposite and the 'Royal Villa' beyond, is broken up into smaller habitations. The Royal Tomb at Isopata itself became a common sepulchre.[4] But the evidence supplied by the later contents of this House of the Fetish Shrine, as by those of the great bulk of the tombs, explored in 1904,[5] belonging to the same age, forbids us to believe that the close of the Palace period at Knossos should be connected with a successful foreign invasion. Rather it points to some internal revolution. The standard of wealth and the standard of art fell. At Knossos itself clay largely replaced metal for domestic utensils. In every direction we begin to perceive decadence, but the decadence itself is

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887, Pl. II.

[2] See W. Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 480, etc.

[3] The frescoes of the Megaron at Mycenae had escaped Professor Ridgeway's attention, otherwise they might have supplied him with an useful corroboration of his theory as to the Libyan origin of the first horses introduced into Greece.

[4] See A. J. Evans, *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos* (London, Quaritch, 1906), p. 170.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 133.

Fig. 8.—Floor of Chamber 1½ Metre beneath West Court Pavement, with Pottery of the Second Middle Minoan Style.

simply the gradual falling away from the models of the latest Palace style. There is no real break in continuity.

In nothing is this more perceptible, so far as regards the present building, than in the heaps of more or less fragmentary clay sealings, found on the later floors, attesting the survival of similar usages as regards securing documents and possessions, and presenting in a somewhat degraded style the same artistic types as those of the preceding age. But what is still more interesting is the evidence, now for the first time supplied by some fragmentary clay tablets found in connexion with these sealings, that the fully developed linear script of Minoan Crete continued to be at least partially in use during the later period. It thus appears that the fall of the Palace did not bring with it the absolute extinction of letters, and the true dark ages of Crete were not yet.

§ 3.—FLOOR DEPOSIT OF THE FIRST MIDDLE MINOAN PERIOD BENEATH WEST COURT.

Investigations into the earlier stratification in the West Court of the Palace were continued with interesting results. It will be remembered that in the Section described in the preceding Report a gap occurred in the strata below the pavement. A floor-level was found containing clay vessels of the Second Middle Minoan period representing the full development of the polychrome style of decoration. A view of this as seen when first uncovered [1] is given here in Fig. 8. Immediately below this floor an Early Minoan deposit occurred as it were *per saltum*, and there were no remains of the First Middle Minoan Period, illustrating the beginning of the polychrome technique. This, however, as I then observed, 'does not exclude the possibility that the floor-level in question may have gone back to that Period, since what is found as a house-floor naturally belongs to the latest date of its occupation.' [2]

The excavation of the adjoining area to the South has now conclusively shown that floors existed at this level, immediately, that is, superimposed on the latest Early Minoan stratum, belonging to this First Middle Minoan stage. In the former case therefore the use of the room must have either gone on continuously to the Second Middle Minoan Period or some

[1] From a sketch by Mr. H. Bagge.

[2] Report: *Knossos*, 1904, p. 18.

FIG. 9.—POTTERY OF FIRST MIDDLE MINOAN PERIOD, FROM FLOOR OF CHAMBER BENEATH WEST COURT.

building operations carried out at that time must have removed the vestiges of the immediately preceding Age. In the neighbouring room now uncovered to this level[1] a very characteristic series of vases belonging to the First Middle Minoan Period was found resting on the floor (see Fig. 9). Besides the usual cups, bowls, etc. was an interesting pedestalled basin (12)

FIG. 10.—CORNELIAN BEAD-SEAL WITH MAN-STAG AND MAN-BOAR, FROM W. ENTRANCE OF PALACE.

with dark brown decoration on buff, a small spouted vessel (3) with white geometrical striping on a purplish brown ground, and the typical beakers with square-cut upright mouths (2, 4, 5, 19). With these was a remarkable

[1] In this, as in the neighbouring area North, the Third Middle Minoan stratum went down a metre beneath the pavement of the Court. In this section there was no trace of a M. M. II. layer.

jug of a somewhat different type (1) with a dull brown ground, decorated with white, vermilion and madder-red, and presenting the finest specimen yet discovered of the early polychrome style (Pl. I). The principal motive consists of double axe-like figures in slanting positions, with their edges involved in the curves of a vermilion band. We see here a rudimentary anticipation of the elaborate spiraliform designs of the developed polychrome style.

§ 4.—SUPPLEMENTARY INVESTIGATIONS ABOUT THE WESTERN ENTRANCE OF THE PALACE.

Various supplementary excavations were carried out about the West Porch and Entrance of the Palace. One result of these was the discovery of an interesting relic, apparently belonging to the period immediately preceding the final catastrophe of this part of the building. This was a lentoid bead-seal of carnelian which had worked down beside the threshold of the doorway leading from the Corridor of the Procession to the 'Porter's Lodge.' The engraving, of bold but somewhat summary execution, such as often characterizes the work of the Second Late Minoan Age, exhibits two compound monsters, one of them a man-stag, the other a man-boar (Fig. 10). We have not here a Μινώταυρος, but a Μινέλαφος and Μινώκαπρος. The gem illustrates the fact that the Minotaur was only one of several similar monstrous creations of Minoan Art that were rife at this period, and of which the man-stag and the man-lion as well as the eagle-lady afford further illustrations. The man-boar is new to the series. It is to be noted that in the Zakro sealings[1] representing the transitional period between the latest Middle Minoan and the Earliest Late Minoan phases, these compound figures are seen under less stereotyped and more fantastic aspects.

The main object of the investigations about the Western Entrance of the Palace, however, was, by raising various portions of the pavement, to secure from the contents of the immediately underlying stratum a *terminus a quo* for the original construction of this part of the building. The results obtained entirely corresponded with previous indications and with the evidence acquired from the stratum immediately underlying the pavement of the West Court. Several fragments of rough jars occurred—one

[1] Hogarth in *J.H.S.* xxii. pp. 76 *seqq.*

with 'trickle' ornament—of the same class as those of the North-East Magazines and belonging to the Third Middle Minoan Period. Under the threshold of the Entrance on the East side of the Porch, as generally under the Western wall, the intervening strata had been cut away by a later levelling process and the Upper Neolithic stratum directly appeared.

§ 5.—INVESTIGATIONS OF THE INTERIOR OF THE WEST WALL AND THEIR CHRONOLOGICAL RESULTS.

The certainty had thus been acquired that throughout the region embraced by the West Court and Entrance and the Corridor of the Procession no later elements occurred beneath the pavements than those belonging to the last stage of the Middle Minoan culture. The West wall and Court of the Palace at Knossos, and the Porch, with its single column and approaching causeways, presents an obvious parallel with that of the earlier Palace at Phaestos, and in that case the fine polychrome remains found above the pavement levels belonged to the acme of the Second Middle Minoan Period. These comparisons, which had been familiar to us since the results of Dr. Pernier's excavations in 1901, had long led Dr. Mackenzie and myself to face the possibility that the West wall of the Palace at Knossos and the adjacent system went back to the same approximate period. It was at any rate clear that we had here to deal with the survival of Middle Minoan architectural traditions.

On the other hand the further investigation of the section of the Knossian Palace adjoining the Central Court to the West had shown that here parts of the original building, including a gypsum wall like that facing the West Court, had been incorporated in later structures belonging to the Late Minoan Age. The contents of the Temple Repositories led to the conclusion that this original building underwent a considerable destruction and remodelling about the close of the Third Middle Minoan Period. The early Cists and jambs of the West Magazines illustrated the same phenomenon. It thus became evident that the original structures of the Western Palace wing went back at least to the concluding epoch of the Middle Minoan age.

Were they, indeed, in their origin still more ancient?—perhaps altogether coeval with the early part of the Phaestian Palace? Was it

possible, in other words, that the original elements of the Palace at Knossos as at present existing, went back to the great age of polychrome ceramic art, namely the Second Middle Minoan Period, or even beyond it?

The absence of ceramic remains of the fine polychrome class in these early cists and repositories was not by itself conclusive. More conclusive, however, was the fact of which now there was such ample proof, that the stratum immediately underlying the West Court system did not represent an earlier stage than the Third Middle Minoan, when the great days of ceramic polychromy were already over. It thus appeared that the West front of the Palace and with it the original elements of the whole Western wing—though they still maintained the same architectural tradition as that visible in the earlier Palace at Phaestos, were the work of a somewhat later age,—in all probability of the concluding part of the Third Middle Minoan Period.

In order to clench the matter I resolved on a crucial experiment as to the date of the construction of the West wall itself. This wall, as has been already shown,[1] consists of an outer and inner face of massive gypsum slabs with a core of rubble masonry between them. I resolved therefore to make excavations, at certain points where it was still intact, in the intervening core of rubble masonry, which unquestionably belonged, equally with the gypsum casing, to the original structure. The sherds contained in this, especially in its lowest level, would certainly give a *terminus post quem* for the date of the construction of the West wall.

These explorations of the interior of the wall were made at four points opposite the ends of Magazines 2, 3, 5, and 10, and in all cases identical results were obtained. The upper part of the wall above the gypsum casing had been partly at least remodelled, and here some Late Minoan fragments occurred, including a seal impression showing one of the usual beast-headed 'daemons.' In the undisturbed area below, sherds were found of the polychrome class (Middle Minoan II) together with other characteristic fragments of the succeeding Third Middle Minoan Period. This evidence it will be seen entirely agrees with that collected in the adjoining West Court region and shows that the construction of the West wall belongs to the close of the Middle Minoan Age.

These explorations of the interior of the West wall brought out some further results of interest. The massive gypsum slabs forming its inner

[1] See Report *B.S.A.* 1903, p. 3.

and outer face were connected, as was already known, by cross-pieces of wood. In the wall-section, however, where this was first observed[1] the mortise holes, into which the ends of these cross-pieces fitted, were not sufficiently well preserved to show their exact original form. The present excavation revealed the fact that they were of a dove-tail plan, so that the ends of the wooden struts were keyed into them and the outer and inner facing of the wall thus locked together (see Fig. 11). It further appeared that on both of the rough inside surfaces of the gypsum

FIG. 11.—EXCAVATED SECTION OF INTERIOR OF WEST WALL OF PALACE, SHOWING MORTISES FOR CROSS-PIECES OF WOOD.

slabs signs were cut answering to those visible on the outside of the casing slabs at the back of the Magazines. It was thus demonstrated that the 'double axe' sign was repeated on the back of both the inner and outer gypsum slabs throughout the section of the West wall that extends from the second

[1] See Report, *B.S.A.* 1901, p. 3, Fig. 1.

to the fifth Magazine,—this being thus the regular mark both within and without. In the excavation made at the back of the tenth Magazine the star-sign made its appearance, which also occurs on the door-jamb between that and the eleventh Magazine.

§ 6.—REFERENCE MUSEUM IN THE PALACE.

In order to protect 'the Room of the Throne' from damp it had been found desirable to roof both it and the adjoining corridor and small chambers. The loft and covered galleries thus provided have now been fitted up with wooden shelves for the baskets of minor fragments of pottery taken from the various Palace rooms and from different metre-depths of the exploratory sections. In this way it has been possible to organize on the spot a kind of reference museum for the whole excavation, the baskets from the various floors and levels being carefully arranged and labelled by Dr. Mackenzie.

§ 7.—THE RESTORATION OF THE GRAND STAIRCASE.

By far the greatest work undertaken on the Palace site during the past season was the result of an accident, which threatened to become a disaster.

An exceptionally rainy winter led to the falling in of the second landing of the Grand Staircase in the Domestic Quarter. The wooden props inserted at the time of the excavation to support this had partially rotted and proved insufficient for their task. The breach caused by the partial collapse of the landing threatened the equilibrium of the upper flight of the staircase and its balustrade, as well as the adjoining part of the Upper East-West Corridor. To avert the ruin thus threatened demanded nothing less than heroic measures.

It will be remembered that at the time of the excavation of the Grand Staircase this upper flight of stone stairs with its stepped balustrade had been found practically in position, resting as by a miracle on a mass of indurated débris, though the supports which had originally held it up above the flight beneath it had themselves disappeared. Through this indurated mass, which seems to have been formed by the remains of the original sunburnt clay bricks of the upper stories of the building, a passage

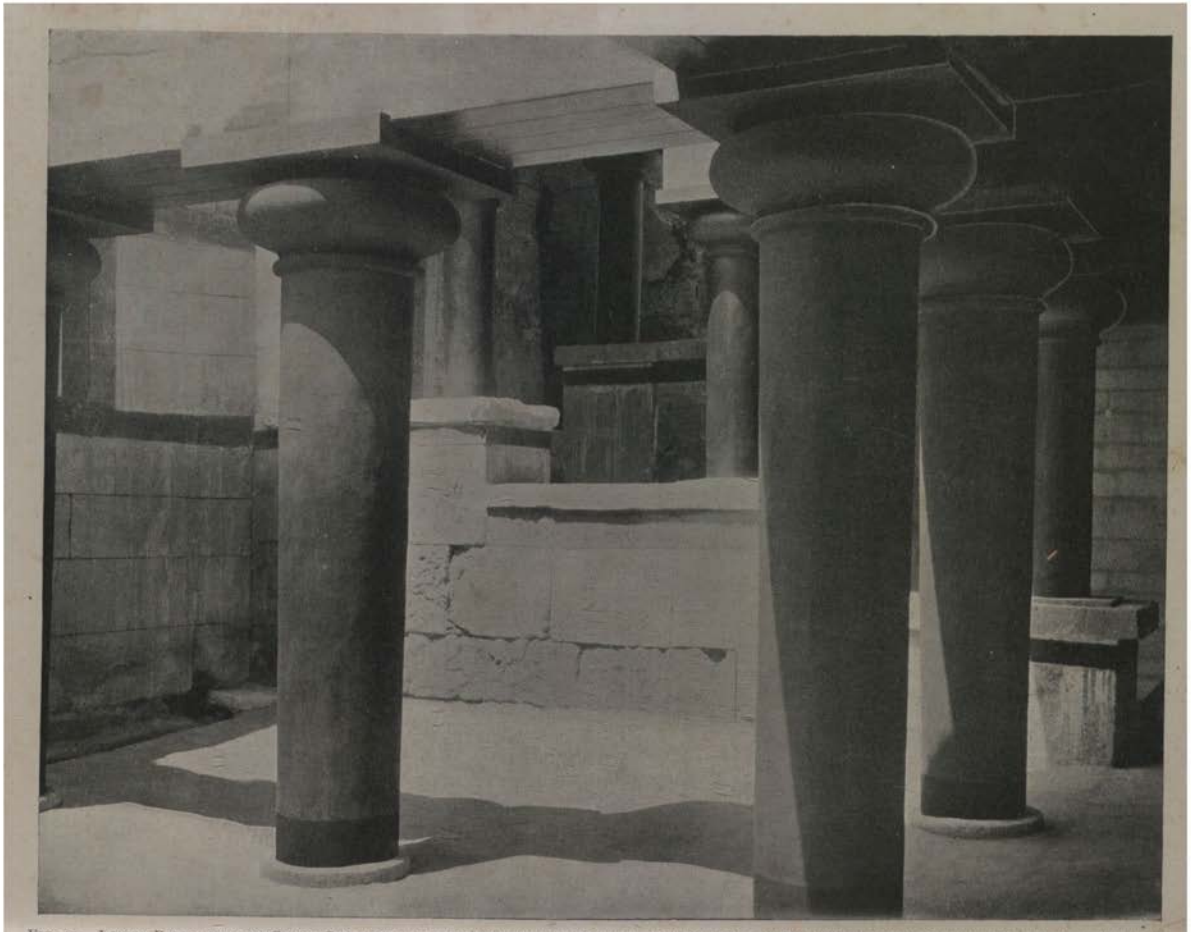


FIG. 12.—LOWER BALUSTRADE OF GRAND STAIRCASE, AS SEEN FROM BENEATH COVERED PART OF HALL OF COLONNADES, WITH COLUMNS IN BOTH CASES RESTORED.

way had been literally tunnelled down the underlying first flight of stairs. The descending gallery thus excavated had been supported like that of a mine with wooden props and frames, but a considerable thickness of fallen material had been left on the outer side of the stairs in order to ensure the adequate support of the upper flight and balustrade. But the whole upper structure having become insecure on account of the breach in the landing, I decided on the drastic expedient of removing provisionally the whole of the upper flight of stairs, with the intention of replacing it, properly supported, at its original level when the mass of débris below had been cleared away.

The upper structures having been carefully removed stone by stone and placed together on a neighbouring terrace in such a way as would facilitate their exact reconstitution, the hard deposit below could be cleared away,—an operation which resulted in a most illuminating discovery. Below the stepped balustrade that accompanied the upper flight of stairs, and separated from it by an interval of fallen and carbonized materials, there came to light on the outer border of the lower flight another similar ascending balustrade with sockets for columns like those above and even the charred remains of the actual wooden shafts.

It being in any case necessary to obtain strong and durable supports for the upper structures, the *minimum* of incongruity seemed to be secured by restoring the columns themselves in their original form—but in stone with a plaster facing in place of wood. For this work, which involved most difficult structural problems and a large use of iron girders in place of the original architraves and cross-beams, I was happy in securing the services of Mr. C. C. T. Doll, architectural student of the British School at Athens who has carried out his task with great success. The basis of this reconstruction must in any case be held to be secure. The new columns with their capitals reproduce both in shape and colouring examples seen on some recently discovered frescoes from a hall of the West Palace wing. The actual size of the architraves and beams could be ascertained from some large charred sections actually preserved. The stones, moreover, of the upper flight of stairs and of their balustrades had been carefully marked and numbered so that they could be re-set in their original positions. In the same way the massive limestone stair-block at the landing leading from the third to the original fourth flight, was also temporarily removed and re-set above its supporting column. In the course of our investigations a

further stair-block came to light substantiating the existence of an original fifth flight of stairs.

It was found necessary to carry out the same reconstitution under the adjoining Upper Corridor and across the Hall of the Colonnades, which the Grand Staircase overlooks—the partially collapsed masonry above the window on the south side of the Hall being at the same time raised, the window itself opened out and its original wooden framing replaced.

Some idea of the result of this restoration as regards the lowermost flight of stairs may be gathered from the photograph, reproduced in Fig. 12, taken from the covered part of the 'Hall of the Colonnades.' As a whole the effect of this legitimate process of reconstitution is such that it must appeal to the historic sense of the most unimaginative. To a height of over twenty feet there rise before us the grand staircase and columnar hall of approach, practically unchanged since they were traversed, some three and a half millenniums back, by Kings and Queens of Minos' stock, on their way from the scenes of their public and sacerdotal functions in the West Wing of the Palace, to the more private quarters of the Royal household.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM EUMENEIA.

THE following inscriptions, along with a number of others which have been already published, were copied by Mr. A. J. B. Wace in the course of a visit paid to Ishekli, the site of the ancient Eumeneia, in the spring of 1903. Mr. Wace kindly handed his manuscript over to me with leave to publish any inscriptions which were still unknown. My delay in doing so is due to the fact that I had hopes of getting a copy of the closing lines of No. 2, either on a visit which I intended myself to pay to Eumeneia or through the kindness of some friend travelling in Asia Minor. This hope has not hitherto been fulfilled, and I should not feel myself justified in waiting any longer.

A full discussion of the history, institutions and monuments of Eumeneia has been given by Professor W. M. Ramsay in *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. ii. ch. x.; the following description, however, of the site, which I owe to Mr. Wace, will be found to supplement in many points Professor Ramsay's brief account.

'About an hour's journey from Chivril, the terminus of a short branch of the Ottoman Railway, the little village of Ishekli lies at the foot of a rocky conical hill rising some 800 feet from the level of the plain, which is here more than 2500 feet above the sea. At the foot of this hill, the local name of which is Saripapas, on the south side copious springs issue from the rocks: the water runs south and forms a marsh from which issues a stream, probably the Cludrus of Pliny (v. 108): this flows into the Maeander, of which it is one of the earliest tributaries. To the east of the springs lies Ishekli; everywhere throughout the village squared marble blocks, inscriptions in walls, etc., prove that the natives are not wrong in saying that a μεγάλη πολιτεία once occupied the site. All round the plain is level, well watered and fertile, capable of producing under proper cultivation much larger crops than it does at present. Above the springs, the water of which is said not to be very good to drink as it contains some mineral, are some chambers cut in the rock of the hillside. Further south is a kind of island in the marsh, which is said to contain "large marble

blocks" buried in the soil: unfortunately I was unable to reach the spot, the water being high and no good horse available. On the line of the modern road which runs round the conical hill in a north-easterly direction, between it and the range of Ak-dagh, are some late tombs. A native told me that he had dug up some of these, but had found nothing of value. On the conical hill local tradition places the acropolis of the ancient city. On the eastern side of the hill is a kind of wide terrace between the lofty and precipitous conical peak to the west and rough crags rising on the east. To me it certainly appeared to have been the acropolis. Numerous fragments of tiles and worked stones have been turned up by the plough, and at the south end of the terrace are obvious traces of a supporting wall, while on the north, where the terrace falls to a lower one, the line of the retaining wall is clearly visible between the two. The view from the Acropolis is magnificent. Immediately below stretches the broad, fertile plain: to the south-west the snow-topped peaks of Khonas can be seen: to the south-east the rugged line of the Ak-dagh bounds the view; while northwards rocky hills rise one behind the other. The site was of great importance, lying as it did on the military road which connected the upper Maeander valley with the upper valley of the Hermus.'

The inscriptions of Eumeneia are, with a few unimportant exceptions, collected by Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. p. 374 foll., Nos. 195–280 (pagan inscriptions) and p. 514 foll., Nos. 353–384 (Christian inscriptions): these are cited below merely by the numbers which they bear in that work. The following four are, so far as I know, unpublished.

1. In the village of Ishekli: marble slab with double axe and inscription.

'Απόλλ-
ωνι Προ-
πυλαίῳ 'Αχι-
λ(λ)εὺς εὐξάμ-
ενος ἀνέθη-
κεν.

A votive tablet with the inscription Πριμιγένης Ἀπόλλωνι Προπυλαίῳ εὐχήν and below it a double axe was found at Kotchak, a village lying a short distance south-west of Ishekli (No. 195). Ramsay (*ad loc.*) points out that this 'is not the true Greek Apollo, but the Phrygian deity Men-Sozon-Sabazios, ... who had his own seat in the valley before Eumeneia was built, and was reverenced by the inhabitants of that city alongside of, and even before, the deities proper to the new foundation, whose temples were within the city.' Cf. No. 196, *ἱερέα* Προπυλ[*αίου* Ἀπό]λλωνος. The god is represented on some imperial coins of Eumeneia, mounted on horseback and carrying the double axe (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 563 f.; Macdonald, *Hunter collection*, p. 486, 1, 2. μ lvi. 24; Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münze*, i. p. 228, 4. Pl. 7. 22). Mythology and Epos furnished many personal names in Phrygia: see Ramsay's note on No. 208

2. Ishekli: on an altar with gable top, supporting a wooden pillar in the courtyard of a house. Inscription (A) in front and (B) on the right side. In front is a bust surrounded by a garland: late Roman work.

(A)

ΗΠΡΑΞΙΑΣ
ΤΡΥΦΩΝΙΔΟΥ
ΒΟΥΛ ΕΥΤΗΣ
ΩΝ ΚΑΤΕΣ
ΚΕΥΑΣ ΕΝΤΟ
ΗΡΩΟ ΝΚΑΙ
ΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΥΤ
Ω ΜΟΝΕΙΣΟΚΕΚΗ
ΔΕΥΤΑΤΗΤΕΘΥΓΑ
ΤΗΡΑΥΤΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΑΝΗΚΑΙΟΓΑΜΒΡΟΣ
ΑΥΤΟΥΑΠΦΙΑΝΟΣ

['Αγαθῇ τύχ]-
η. Πραξίας
Τρυφωνίδου
βουλευτῆς

(B)

ΚΑΙΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟ
ΝΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΟΠΡΑ
ΞΙΑΣΚΑΙΗΓΥΝΗ
ΑΥΤΟΥΑΠΦΙΑΚΑΙ
ΩΑΝΑΥΤΟΣΖΩΝ
ΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΕΙΕΤΗ
ΡΩΔΕΝΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕ
ΣΤΑΙΚΗΔΕΥΣΑΙΤΙ
ΝΑΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕΠΙΧΕ
ΡΗΣΕΙΘ

καὶ κηδευθήσο-
νται αὐτὸς ὁ Πρα-
ξίας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
αὐτοῦ Ἀπφία καὶ

ὧν κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρῷον καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ [βω]μὸν εἰς ὃ κεκήδευτα(ι) ἥ τε θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Κλαυδιανὴ καὶ ὁ γαμβρὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀπφιανὸς ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ζῶν συνχωρήσει ἑτέρῳ δὲ <ν> οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδεῦσαί τινα, εἰ δέ τις ἐπιχε[ι]ρήσει θ - - - -

Mr. Wace was prevented from copying the remainder of the inscription by the Moslem owner of the house: his companion, Dr. Karpouza, assured him that the text ends thus: ΚΑΙΤΗCΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑCΚΙΔΕΥCΙΤΟ, and that on the stone below were also the symbols ✱ϕ.

L. 1. For similar sepulchral inscriptions from this district prefaced by the phrase *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ*, see Nos. 87, 209, 212.

L. 2. An *Αὐρ. Ζωτικὸς Πραξίου Εὐμενεὺς βουλευτής* occurs in No. 368. The name *Πραξίας* is well known in connexion with the testament of Titus Praxias of Acmonia (*Revue des Ét. Anc.* iii. p. 272 ff., iv p. 79 ff., 267 ff.).

L. 4. Other members of the Council of Eumeneia are mentioned in Nos. 204, 210, [219], 359, 361, 364, 368, 371.

L. 6 ff. For a discussion of the chief types of Phrygian tombs see Ramsay, *op. cit.* ii p. 367, *J.H.S.* v (1884) 241 ff.

L. 23. After *ἐπιχειρήσει* we may either supply some infinitive dependent upon it, e.g. *θεῖναί τινα* (Nos. 251, 364; cf. No. 212), *θεῖναι ἕτερόν τινα* (No. 362; cf. 229), *θεῖναι χωρὶς τῆς συγχωρήσεως* (No. 244); or we may take such an infinitive as understood and proceed at once to the penalty in the form *θήσει εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον* (Nos. 207 362), *εἰς τὸν φίσκον* (Nos. 215, 229, [279]), *εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος φίσκον* (No. 248), *τῷ τῶν Καισάρων φίσκῳ* (No. 251), *εἰς τὴν βουλήν* (No. 258), or *εἰς τὴν ἱερωτάτην βουλήν* (Nos. 221, 244). The amount of the fine follows, with or without the word *προστείμου* prefixed: in this case it was probably 500 *denarii* (as in Nos. 244, [251], 362), if the last symbols on the stone are ✱ϕ; more commonly it is 2500 (✱ Βϕ). Of the words *καὶ τ(ὰ)ς θυγατέρας κιδευ(θ)ίτ(ω)* (?) I can make nothing.

3. Dede Keui, near Ishekli. In the south wall of a mosque.

ΠΙC
ΨΛΚΛΗCΙΠΤ
ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΨ
ΟΝΕΠΙΚΤ
ΕΤΕΙΜΟΨ

L. 3. *κατεσκεύ[ασεν]*. L. 5. *[προ]στείμου*.

4. In the east wall of the same mosque.

ΙΩ ΙΕ
ΑΘΑΝΕΙΗ
ΛΕ
Ε
ΤΕΡΩ
ΕCΤΑΜ
ΠΙΧΕΙΡ
ΤΡΟΕ
Κ

L. 7. *[ἐ]πιχειρ[ήσει]*.

In No. 234 Mr. Wace's copy has ϵ at the end of l. 1, which, since ϵ occurs throughout the inscription in the form Ε, confirms Ramsay's reading Θ. In No. 248 l. 1 he agrees with M. Paris (*B.C.H.* viii. p. 236 No. 4) in reading *Μαρκίῳ*, while in No. 257 his text shows *Ἀπφίῳ*, not *Ἀπφίᾳ*, and in No. 378 ll. 7, 8, he has the correct reading Α-ΑΛΩ. The remaining inscriptions copied by Mr. Wace (Nos. 235, 362, 380) call for no special comment.

MARCUS NIEBUHR TOD.

HONORARY STATUES IN ANCIENT GREECE.

MY object in the following short study is to investigate the subject of honorary statues in Greek times.

Since Stenersen's treatise,[1] written in 1877, I know of no published work dealing specially with this subject, which is interesting from the light it throws on Greek life and political action, and since that date excavation and the discovery of inscriptions have added considerably to the material available. His work is a valuable source for the literary evidence on the question, but his subject is portrait-statues, and he confines himself to those from Athens.

The general impression with regard to honorary statues is that they were very numerous, being granted so readily that they scarcely deserved the name of an honour, and one object of my paper is to examine this view and show how far it is from being justified. Possibly it arose from a lack of careful discrimination between portrait-statues and honorary statues proper.[2]

Thus *ἀναθήματα* or votive offerings have been held to fall under the head of honorary statues in cases where the object offered is a portrait-statue. But here we must ask, what is the intention of the dedication? is it to honour the god or to honour the individual? Mr. Rouse[3] defines a votive offering as, 'Whatever is given of freewill to a being conceived as superhuman': that being, then, is the one aimed at by the offering, *i.e.*

[1] L. B. Stenersen, *De historia variisque generibus statuarum iconicarum apud Athenienses*, Christiania, 1877.

[2] For the material used, two works of Dittenberger's have been invaluable, the *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, and the recently published *Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*. For working out the clear definition of an honorary statue, M. Francotte's pamphlet, *La législation athénienne sur les distinctions honorifiques* (Louvain, 1900) has been of the utmost service.

[3] *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 1.

honoured thereby. This intention is clear with offerings such as kylikes, figures of animals, reliefs, a portrait-statue seems at first sight to give greater prominence to the individual portrayed than to the recipient of the portrait. As instances, we may take the portrait-statues of Miltiades and other generals in the group at Delphi, forming the votive offering of the Athenians after Marathon[1]; of Lysander in that of the Lacedaemonians after Aegospotami,[2] and again of Lysander alone, at Olympia, erected by the Samians[3]; but, as Rouse points out, the figures belonged to memorials which commemorated the gratitude of the dedicators to the gods, and were not erected to honour the men they represented. Sometimes this may have been practically the motive of the *ἀνάθημα*, as where Pausanias says of Alcibiades, '*ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν Ἰώνων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ εἰκὼν Ἀλκιβιάδου χαλκῆ παρὰ τῇ Ἥρᾳ Σαμίων ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα.*'[4]

Still in theory it was to honour the deity that the statue was erected. The point of the distinction between *ἀναθήματα* and honorary statues is well brought out by Dion Chrysostom, who says, '*ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀναθήματα. αἱ δ' εἰκόνες τιμαί· κἀκεῖνα δέδοται τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦτα δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οἵπερ εἰσὶν ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν.*'[5] We must then distinguish portrait-statues, when *ἀναθήματα* or gifts to a god, from honorary statues proper.[6]

The class of athlete-statues also presents difficulties. Dr. Reisch, would include them under *ἀναθήματα*.[7] But in this his decision is contrary to that of Pausanias, who says (of the statues in the Altis at Olympia): '*τὰ μὲν τιμῇ τῇ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκειται, οἱ δὲ ἀνδριάντες τῶν νικώντων ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ σφίσι καὶ οὗτοι δίδονται.*'[8] For him they are *prizes*. Furtwängler supports this,[9] adducing as evidence the absence of a dedicatory formula until a late period. Reisch demolishes this argument with some

[1] Paus X. x. 1. [2] Paus. X. ix. 7 and Plut. *Lysand.* i. [3] *Ib.* VI. iii. 14.
[4] Paus. VI. iii. 15. [5] Dion. Chrys. xxxi. 596 R.
[6] Mr. Rouse appears not to distinguish consistently between votive offerings or portrait-statues and honorary (or 'honorific') statues. He seems to regard the latter as a degenerate variety of *ἀναθήματα, i.e. ἀναθήματα* minus the clear 'sacred character of the dedication' (p. 373). He seems to translate *ἀναθεῖναι* by 'dedicate' and hence uses 'dedication' loosely of anything to which that verb is applied (p. 269). '*ἀναθεῖναι*,' and '*ποιεῖν ἀνάθεσιν*' are used as readily of honorary statues erected by decree of the people anywhere in the city as of votive offerings (*C.I.A.* ii. 465, 469, *C.I.G.* 2152 b, Ditt. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 324). He suggests that the portraits of Alcibiades, etc., if 'portrait-statues and nothing more,' were the earliest honorific statues (p. 372), neglecting the statues of the Tyrannicides.
[7] *Gr. Weihgeschenke*, pp. 35 *sqq.* [8] Paus. V. xxi. 1.
[9] *Ath. Mitt.* v. p. 29 and Reisch, p. 35, n. 2.

just remarks, but adds, 'was im heiligen Bezirke aufgestellt ist, wird dadurch von selbst als Anathem gekennzeichnet.' Whether erection in a sacred precinct does or does not make a statue an *ἀνάθημα*, we shall have to consider later; what concerns us here is, that Dr. Reisch makes athlete-statues *ἀναθήματα*. True, it appears to have been regular for athletes to dedicate the statue they received, but primarily it became theirs *ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ*—'as part of the prize.' In the same way crowns and tripods were first given as prizes, to become afterwards *ἀναθήματα* when offered by the victor to a deity. We distinguished *ἀναθήματα*, when portrait-statues, from honorary statues; if athlete-statues are distinct from *ἀναθήματα*, are they included among honorary statues, or are they different again? Pausanias helps us to answer this question, when he says athlete-statues were *ἐν ἄθλου λόγῳ*, they were a fixed concomitant of victory, assigned by the rules of the games. No such rule governed the award of an honorary statue; it was a free gift to the recipient, voted him by a body of admirers. Pausanias further makes it clear that he distinguishes the three classes we have mentioned, where he says: '*εἰκόνας*—portrait-statues erected not in honour of a supernatural being (*τὸ θεῖον*), but to gratify men themselves, I shall include in my account of the athlete-statues.'[1] Here are (1) *ἀναθήματα* of portrait-statues, (2) honorary statues, (3) athlete-statues.[2]

It follows therefore that an honorary statue must be erected (1) not in honour of a god, but of an individual, (2) not as a right, but as a free gift. But there are statues which possess both these qualifications and yet are not honorary statues; for instance, a portrait-statue, erected by a personal friend during the lifetime of the subject,[3] or a grave-statue, erected by a man's survivors, such as those of Maussollus and Artemisia at Halicarnassus; or any other memorial statue, *e.g.* those which Herodes Atticus

[1] Paus. V. xxv. 1.

[2] When an athlete's own state erects in his own city a duplicate of his prize at Olympia, Delphi, etc., this is a true honorary statue, distinct from the reward of victory. Pausanias (VI. ix. 3) mentions two statues of the athlete Cheimon, both by Naukydes, *ἥ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καὶ ἡ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομισθεῖσα ἐξ Ἄργους*. He also saw at Sparta statues of a father and son who had won victories at Olympia; and whose statues were therefore probably erected there also (*ib.* III. xiii. 9). At Pellene in the gymnasium was the statue of an athlete, which had its duplicate at Olympia (*ib.* VII. xxvii. 5). Cp. for duplicate erection, the votive offering of Daochos at Delphi and at Pharsalos. In this case both apparently were *ἀναθήματα*. (Preuner, *Ein Griechisches Weihgeschenk.*)

[3] *B.C.H.* iii. 365; Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini* § 2.

erected of his favourite freedmen on his estate at Marathon.[1] All these are simply tokens of private regard or affection, dependent only for their erection on the wish of the erectors, which might or might not seem justified to anyone else.[2]

A third requirement, then, is authorisation, and we may define honorary statues as *portrait-statues set up by the authorisation of a public body out of regard for the person represented.*

It has been suggested that every statue erected in a sacred precinct is thereby made an *ἀνάθημα*, no express words of dedication being necessary, and Dr. Reisch has supported this opinion (see above, p. 33, note 7). In some cases we find more than one statue awarded to the same person, with directions as to the place of erection, such as :

'*τὴν μὲν μίαν στῆσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀμαρυσίας ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ*,'[3]

'*εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐν ἀκροπόλει*,'[4]

'*ψηφίσματι ἀναθέσεως ἀνδριάντων καὶ εἰκόνων ἐν παντὶ ναῷ καὶ ἐπισήμῳ τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ*'[5]

Where the appointed inscription is recorded, as in the first example, absolutely no difference is made between that for the sacred and that for the unconsecrated spot.[6] In each case the statues were regularly decreed by the state, and fulfil our definition of honorary statues. Daremberg and Saglio[7] explain these pairs of statues by the fact that the one in the sacred place, being an *ἀνάθημα*, was no honour to the individual, who was therefore given a second image for himself, but if there was this difference between the statues, it is strange to find none in the inscriptions. Also one would suppose that an image in a sacred place (especially on the Akropolis) if an *ἀνάθημα*, would be considered as a greater honour to the person than one in the agora, so that no compensation would be needed. Incidentally I may observe that in Jahn-Michaelis' *Arx Athenarum*, where lists of all inscriptions from the Akropolis are given, the two separate classes of *votive* and *honorary* inscriptions are distinguished.

[1] Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II. i. 24 ; Frazer's *Paus.* Vol. ii. p. 438.

[2] Statues used to decorate private houses, libraries, gymnasia, were more of the nature of decoration than anything else.

[3] Rangabé, *Ant. Hell.* ii. 689 (second century B.C.)

[4] *C.I.A.* ii. 311 (286–5 B.C.)

[5] *Ib.* iii. 623 (100–126 A.D.)

[6] Cp. Luc. *Anach.* 17.

[7] *S.v. imago.*

Where Pausanias says that all the statues on the Akropolis at Athens are alike *ἀναθήματα*,[1] his point is a distinction between athlete-statues and *ἀναθήματα*, and he makes a sweeping generalisation about those on the Akropolis at Athens to contrast them with those in the Altis at Olympia. That he did recognise the distinction between *ἀναθήματα* and honorary statues, is shown by the passage cited above.[2] The absolute identity of formula for statues in public and in sacred places justifies the inference that they were of the same class, and the apparent indifference to the place of erection in the case of statues of the same person points to the same conclusion.[3]

In discussing the abuses of the practice of erecting honorary statues which arose in Roman times, Stenersen mentions among the chief 'ut privatos impensam in statuas erigendas facere iuberent, dum respublica ipsa, ut statua erigeretur, tantummodo decerneret vel permitteret,'[4] the state got the credit for decreeing the statue, while the expense fell upon the recipient or his friends. To him the term 'honorary' seems to imply, as it does in the expression 'honorary secretary,' that something is given free of charge. It can be shown however that the practice blamed by Stenersen was neither an abuse of the custom, nor a growth of late times, at least in Athens.[5]

Francotte (*op. cit.* p. 54 foll.) discusses the meaning of the phrase *στέφανος κατὰ τὸν νόμον*, which is so often found among the awards in honorary decrees from 340 B.C. onwards and especially after 306–5 B.C. He comes to the conclusion that where this phrase occurs, the recipient regularly provided his own crown, and that the honour lay in the permission to have one. He points out that in cases where express provision is made for the expense and erection of the *στήλη* recording the decree, there is no mention of the expense of the crown, probably therefore the state did not pay for it. An exact parallel is afforded by the modern practice where the recipient of an order provides the jewel or other insignia to which he is

[1] Paus. V. xxi. 1. [2] *v.* note 1, p. 34.

[3] A good example of an honorary statue in a sacred precinct is that of Antiochus III., decreed by the Delphic Amphictyony to be set up in the precinct of the Pythian Apollo. There can be no doubt that this was a regular honorary statue. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 234.

[4] Stenersen, p. 49, p. 53 *sqq.*

[5] Stenersen, on p. 53, says he knows of no evidence of the abuse at Athens, though an inscription might any day be found giving such evidence.

entitled.[1] No one would feel injured at having to bear the cost, the coveted thing was the reception of the honour, as expressed in the decree. The instances of decrees awarding honorary statues are far fewer than those awarding crowns, but the forms are so much alike that I think it is fair to use the same arguments; where we find a decree granting εἰκόνος ἀνάστασις or ἀνάθεσις (the *right* to erect a statue),[2] or where, when all other expenses are arranged for, that of the statue is noticeably omitted,[3] it was probably understood that the recipient was to provide it. If the state could not afford crowns, it could still less afford statues.[4] Thus it seems probable that as early as the fourth century—the time when the practice of erecting honorary statues was most prevalent—we have the right only to a statue granted and accepted as a matter of course. The absence of provision for the expense is no proof that the custom was degenerating, nor is provision at public cost an essential feature of an honorary statue.[5]

We must recognize, then, that neither the provision of the cost nor the place of erection has any decisive bearing on the discrimination of honorary statues from other statues. They are distinct from ἀναθήματα and from athlete-statues, and, finally, they are not to be confused with private statues.

Francotte gives a careful account of honorary distinctions in general at Athens, approaching the question from the legal point of view; his results fully bear out the definition we have adopted. For our subject, the important result of his examination is his demonstration that, while subordinate political bodies and certain private associations were authorised to grant, without confirmation by decree of the people, crowns or other honours to their own members or benefactors, the right of conferring honorary statues could only be exercised with the express

[1] Francotte, p. 60.

[2] *B.S.A.* vii. p. 156 (second half of fourth century B.C.) ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰκόνα στῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν. *C.I.A.* ii.[1], iv.[2] 410, end of fourth century.

[3] *C.I.A.* ii. 331, ll. 80 *sqq.* (third century), ii. 465 (second century).

[4] To the data given by Stenersen on this head (p. 128) may be added the evidence of *C.I.A.* ii.[1] 250, στῆσαι τὸν δῆμον εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ἀσκληπιάδου ἀπὸ τριςχιλίων δραχμῶν (307–300 B.C.).

[5] The inscription from Eretria mentioned before (p. 35 note 5), which is perhaps of the second century B.C., shows clearly how authorisation by the state was the most desired part of an honorary statue: for it is decreed that the already erected statues of the children of Theopompos shall be inscribed "ὅτι ἀνατίθησιν αὐτὰς ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν" etc. No attempt is made to bear the cost, but the state sanction is inscribed on the statues, and this in itself was evidently quite satisfactory.

permission of the state.[1] Thus a decree of the people mentions, without confirming, the crowns voted to a certain kosmetes of Salamis by the ephebi, but proceeds to grant explicitly the erection to him of a bronze statue.[2] Similarly, another decree contains the request of the treasurer of a guild of *ναύκληροι* that the Boulé will allow them to set up a portrait of their proxenos.[3] The garrisons, on the other hand, appear to have been exempt from any such rule.[4]

Stenersen would appear to class such statues as the above amongst private statues; only the *δῆμος* and the *βουλή*, according to him, can erect public statues, *i.e.* honorary statues according to our definition.[5] The Areopagus and 'other colleges and bodies'[6] could, he says, at any time erect statues 'of their own free will,' but these, even when erected in public places, were not honorary statues. Again, he defines private statues as 'quae a (privatis hominibus vel) corporibus collegiisque *sine populi iussu* erectae pro publico honoribus non essent.'[7] He appears to take no account of the decrees applying for confirmation of the erection of a statue, and probably refers generally to all the statues erected by these bodies. We are not concerned with the statues erected by private individuals, which have been mentioned above. As Stenersen thus excludes all bodies but the *δῆμος* and *βουλή* from those able to erect honorary statues, he excludes those others discussed by Francotte, (1) *subordinate political bodies, i.e.* the prytaneis, the tribes, the demes, the garrisons, and (2) '*associations particulières*,' *e.g.* the ephebi, merchant-guilds, thiasi, orgeones. Francotte's examination shows, however, that the *βουλή* was on just the same footing as these other bodies with regard to the granting of distinctions,[8] and in fact that in some respects it had rather less power than others. No one would deny that statues decreed by the *βουλή* were honorary statues, but then it seems unreasonable to draw a hard and fast line between the *βουλή* and those other bodies, if, as Francotte shows, their authority was equal.

The whole of Francotte's monograph goes to prove that the granting of honorary distinctions by these bodies was a carefully regulated and defined practice. In principle, he says,[9] the people had full rights to issue all honorary decrees, whether for public or for private citizens, but

[1] Francotte, p. 52. [2] *Ib*, p. 33. [3] *Ib.* p. 50. [4] *Ib.* p. 49.
[5] Stenersen, pp. 58, 59, 65. [6] *Ib.* p. 60. [7] *Ib.* p. 75. [8] Francotte, pp. 40–41.
[9] *Ib.* p. 10.

they had limited their own right in several ways, the most important being (1) by leaving subdivisions of the state and private associations to reward their own functionaries and their own benefactors, (2) by specifying more or less completely the services which qualified a man to receive an honour. The promiscuous distribution of honours was controlled by the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*.

Seeing therefore that, (1) the distribution of honorary distinctions in general, and of statues in particular,[1] was supervised by the state, and (2) that the *βουλή*, the subordinate political divisions and the private associations had exactly similar rights and limitations,—the statues granted by them and confirmed by the state are *all* honorary statues; they differ entirely from the statues erected without authorization by a private individual.

It is impossible to improve upon Stenersen's clear and complete account (pp. 7—74) of the instances of honorary statues at Athens, but a few criticisms may be offered on his history of the custom.

He gives (p. 8) as the first honorary statues, those of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, made by Antenor between 509 and 479 B.C. and set up in the Kerameikos. No reference to them in literature[2] states that they were formally voted, as were honorary statues in the fourth century. Aristotle[3] tells us that sacrifices were offered to them as heroes, and it is possible that they stand in a rather different category from honorary statues proper.

The next case is that of the honours shown to Kimon and his colleagues after the victory at the Strymon, B.C. 476.[4] These took the form of three herms of marble erected in the 'Colonnade of the Herms,' with inscriptions which carefully avoided even the names of the generals; the herms then can hardly have been portrait-herms. The second inscription however, reads like a metrical version of the regular formulae for honorary decrees,[5] evidently these herms were forerunners of the honorary statues

[1] Francotte, p. 52.

[2] Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 443 *sqq.* = Paus. i. 8. 5, Plin. *N.H.* xxxiv. 70, Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 16. 7 and vii. 19. 2, Val. Max. ii. 10. *ext.* 1.

[3] *Aristotle, Constitution of Athens*, 58.

[4] Stenersen, p. 8, and Aesch. *in Ktes.* 183 *sqq.*

[5] ...*ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλης ἀρετῆς*—cp. Larfeld, ii. p. 740, '*εὐεργετοῦντας καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ*,' etc.

μᾶλλόν τις τάδ' ἰδὼν καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει
ἀμφὶ ξυνοῖσι πράγμασι μόχθον ἔχειν.

Cp. *ib.* p. 764, *ὅπως ἂν ἐφάμιλλον ᾖ εὐεργετεῖν*, etc.

of later times but they were not statues, and the erectors avoided the appearance of showing too much honour to individuals.

The first real case of an honorary statue is that awarded to Konon[1] and after this they were frequent.

Stenersen rightly remarks that after the Peloponnesian War the former attitude to the public erection of (portrait-) statues was abandoned and that this honour began to be frequently awarded, but he says that in the fifth century 'not even Miltiades and Themistokles received the honour of a statue,' implying that the honour was an accepted one but was withheld. How was it that Miltiades, Themistokles and Perikles were passed over? Surely no honour was too great for them in the eyes of the Athenian people at the time of their greatest popularity, yet the only portraits recorded as publicly set up are, one of Miltiades in the group which the Athenians dedicated at Delphi after Marathon (therefore an *ἀνάθημα*[2]) and one of Perikles by Kresilas set up on the Akropolis,[3] which Furtwängler, following Lolling, suggests was a votive offering by the sculptor himself. When we read of the wild enthusiasm with which Themistokles, after Salamis, was received at Olympia and at Sparta[4] —the Spartans gave him a crown of leaves, a chariot and an escort of honour, doubtless regular rewards for distinguished services—can we imagine that the Athenians would fail to shower on him their most prized rewards? Demosthenes says that the Athenians of the fifth century had other rewards than bronze statues for their *ὡς ἀληθῶς εὐεργέται* whether citizens or strangers; they showed gratitude by choosing their great men to lead them, which, he points out, was a much greater honour.[5]

The erection of honorary statues cannot be called a custom till the fourth century. Such statues of Themistokles and Miltiades as were seen by Pausanias in the Prytaneum at Athens must have been erected later, when the fashion had come in probably in the fourth century.[6]

During the fourth century honorary statues were generally awarded to eminent men for conspicuous merit in any course of life. We find Lycurgus in the latter half of the century formally proposing that the great

[1] Stenersen, p. 8 = Dem. *in Lept.* p. 470, *in Aristokr.* p. 686.

[2] Paus. x. 10. 1.

[3] *S.Q.* 873 = Plin. *N.H.* xxxiv. 74; and Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 271.

[4] Plut. *Them.* xvii. [5] *In Aristokr.* 686, cp. Plut. *Them.* xviii.

[6] Cp. Dem. *in Lept.* 491 (in former days honours were given also), *αἱ μέντοι τιμαὶ καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τὰ μὲν τότ' ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότ' ἔθεσι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.*

tragedians, Æschylos, Sophokles and Euripides, should have statues in the theatre;[1] they were thus honoured equally with the great generals and statesmen of the time, and their statues are some of the finest examples of the custom, given for no ulterior motive, but solely to show the universal appreciation of their work.

Not only to citizens were statues at Athens awarded, they came to be granted to strangers of distinction and to play a part in the foreign politics of the city. Demosthenes reckoned them amongst the highest honours Athens could bestow.

(χαλκοῦς ἱστάντες καὶ μεγίσταις δωρεαῖς τιμῶντες).[2]

As a statesman, however, he wished to turn them to good account, and to use them as diplomatic instruments, so we find him proposing to erect statues in the agora to Leukon's sons, the Bosphoran kings Pairisades, Satyros and Gorgippos, who like their father had shown great friendliness to Athens.[3] The policy of Demosthenes with regard to honorary distinctions in general is shown again by the speech against Aristokrates blaming the Athenians for specially favouring Charidemos,[4] on the ground that it was impolitic. The motive for granting statues to friendly princes was a dangerous one, leading as it might, and eventually did, to abuse of the custom; it was not a man's merits, but the benefits which he might confer that were considered, and Demosthenes, though his respect for the honour is apparently so high, is among the first to lead to its abuse.

Besides the statues of tragedians in the theatre and those of the foreign princes proposed by Demosthenes, the other Athenian statues, probably or certainly of this period, include statues to various philosphers,[5] to one or two private individuals,[6] and to some of the orators themselves. With regard to these last, it is interesting to note that we possess the actual decrees or paraphrases of them, proposing statues for Demosthenes, for his nephew Democharès, and for Lycurgus.[7]

Though the majority of the instances of honorary statues in the fourth century B.C. come from Athens, there are enough elsewhere to show that

[1] Plut. *Vit. X. Or.* p. 841 f. [2] Dem. *in Aristokr.* 667.

[3] *Dinarchus* i. 44. Cp. Dittenberger, *Syll.* No. 129.

[4] Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 209, 220. [5] Stenersen, p. 61.

[6] Diphilos, probably because of his wealth, and Neoptolemos for piety, Stenersen, p. 62, also perhaps Asklepiades of Byzantium, *C.I.A.* ii. 251.

[7] Plut. *Vit. X. Or.* 850 *sqq.*, and Hicks, *Manual*, No. 145.

the custom was generally known, though possibly in other states it was less common than at Athens. In the speech against Leptines, Demosthenes, speaking of the awarding of honours, remarks that it may be urged that *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς διδόασι τοιαύτην οὐδεμίαν τιμήν*,[1]—so they would not give statues. In connexion with this passage, it may be noted that Pausanias says the statue of Archidamos III.,[2] which the Spartans sent to Olympia, was the first they set up of any of their kings outside their own boundaries, on which Dr. Wolters remarks that the limitation '*ἔν γε τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ*' appears to be required only by the existence at Sparta of a statue of King Polydoros. The two passages taken together support the presumption that honorary statues were less common at Sparta and that the custom here, as at Athens, began late.

Without professing to give a complete list of instances of honorary statues outside Athens, we may mention those of some of the more eminent men recorded in authors or inscriptions. *Epaminondas* had several statues, mentioned by Pausanias. Of these, that in the precinct of Asklepios at Messene[3] was an *ἀνάθημα*, that in the *hierothusion* at the same place may or may not have been one,[4] but that at Thebes was an honorary statue.[5] *Pelopidas* after his death (355 B.C.) was honoured by the Thessalian states with golden crowns[6] and bronze statues.[7] The base has been found of a statue of *Aratos* of Sikyon, erected by the Troezenians, who, owing to his liberation of Corinth in 243 B.C., had been enabled to cast off the Macedonian yoke and join the Achaean League.[8] Contemporary with this was the statue of *Lydiadas* erected by the city of Kleitor at Lykosoura; he had resigned the tyranny of Megalopolis in order to attach his countrymen to the Achaean League, the chief magistracy of which he held several times; he died fighting against the Spartans.[9] There is also extant most of a decree of the Megalopolitans, awarding to Philopoemen after his death in 183 B.C. high honours, including four bronze statues in different parts of the city.[10] *Lykortas* had a statue erected at Epidauros by the Spartans, whom he had caused to join the Achaean

[1] *In Lept.* p. 489. [2] Paus. vi. 4. 9. Archidamos III. died 338 B.C.
[3] Paus. iv. 31. 10. [4] *Ib.* iv. 32. 1. [5] *Ib.* ix. 12. 6 and 15. 6.
[6] These recall the regular formulae of honorary decrees.
[7] Corn. Nep. *Pelop.* v. 5=S.Q. 1625. [8] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 231.
[9] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 230. [10] *Ib.* 289.

League (182 B.C.)[1]; and his son *Polybios* the historian also received one from the Eleans at Olympia, probably in recognition of his efforts with the Romans to obtain easy terms for Greece after its conquest.[2]

It seems best to class separately statues erected some time after the death of the persons honoured, as contrasted with those erected during lifetime or immediately upon death. These, as is likely, were awarded to men whose fame had continued. We have seen examples of them in the statues erected in the theatre at Athens to the three great tragedians. Other examples are those of *Aristomenes* in the stadium at Messene, seemingly erected soon after the foundation of that city in 370 B.C.,[3] and probably those of the lawgiver *Lycurgus* and of *King Polydoros*[4] at Sparta, and of *Stesichoros* at Himera.[5] These we may call posthumous honorary statues.

The history of the custom in Greece proper has now been traced down to Roman times, and we have seen how this reward was a usual acknowledgment of the services of any prominent man. It must not however, be supposed that it was confined to Greece in Europe; it flourished also in Asia Minor and the islands, but with a difference. The fundamental distinction between the states of Western and of Eastern Greece under Alexander's successors—the former republics, and the latter despotic monarchies—has often been pointed out. The leading figures in the Eastern kingdoms were naturally the monarchs and their ministers. It was they who determined the policy of their subjects, who were their leaders in war and who were responsible for their internal government, and as they played *ex officio* the part which in a republic would fall to any citizen whose ability and energy brought him to the fore, so their subjects, or those within their sphere of influence, set up honorary statues to them just as a republic would to its most prominent statesman. A number of extant inscriptions attest this practice, being either decrees granting statues or the actual inscriptions from their bases.

Thus Priene appears to have felt itself under great obligations to Lysimachos,[6] who had protected the city against encroachments on the part of Magnesia on the Maeander, and for these services high honours were decreed to him—an altar, a yearly procession and sacrifice, and a statue of

[1] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 290. [2] *Ib.* 317, and Hicks, *Manual*, No. 201.
[3] Paus. iv. 32. 6. [4] Paus. iii. 14. 8, and xi. 10 = *S.Q.* 1634-5.
[5] Cic. *in Verrem*, ii. 35. 86 = *S.Q.* 1637. [6] Dittenberger, *Or.* 11.

bronze. Similarly in the Seleucid family, Antiochos, son of Seleucus I. received (during his father's lifetime) a statue from the Milesians[1]; their political ascendancy was threatened by the building or rebuilding of other Ionian cities like Priene and Ephesos, and they were anxious to reassert it. Antiochos, by showing them special favour and promising to build a *stoa* for the beautifying of their sanctuary, had fallen in with their wishes and they were anxious to mark their gratitude. The same prince, after succeeding his father, was honoured with a statue by the people of Ilium,[2] who thus signified their satisfaction at passing into his hands and thereby obtaining at least a nominal independence. An inscription from Delos records the erection by the Macedonians (*κοινὸν Μακεδόνων*) of a statue of Philip V.,[3] though there is nothing to show for what special reason. It was important for the neighbours of a powerful prince's subjects to retain his favour, so for instance the Calaurians decreed a statue to Eumenes II.,[4] who held Ægina throughout his reign. The case is rather different from erection by a king's immediate subjects, but the recipient of the honour played an indirect part, which might any day become active, in the politics of the donors. A number of small states in alliance with a powerful king might show their appreciation of the advantages derived, by giving him a statue in some suitable place. So the subject allies of Ptolemy VI. after a successful war with Cyprus erected his statue at Delos.[5]

Next to the sovereigns themselves the high officials at their courts and other powerful subordinates could and did play an important *rôle* in the history of subject states, who were often much indebted to them for their influence. Services to the people of Nesos, an island near Lesbos, were rendered by Thersippos a general of Alexander, in that he used his influence with the Macedonian court on their behalf, so he was rewarded with an honorary statue.[6] Even the powerful cities of the Ionian League felt the value of an influential friend at court with Lysimachos, and we find them decreeing an equestrian statue in the Panionion to Hippostratos of Miletos,[7] whom he had set over them as strategos in the disturbed years 301—287 B.C. Ephesos and Miletos were selected to see to the carrying

[1] Dittenberger, *Or.* 213. [2] *Ib.* 219. Michel, 525.
[3] *Ib. Syll.* 262. [4] *Ib. Or.* 297.
[5] Dittenberger, *Or.* 116 (middle of second century), *Olympische Inschriften* v. No. 301, where his general Seleucus of Rhodes also receives a statue from the Achaean army *καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες*, after the same war.
[6] *Ib. Or.* 4; before 317 B.C. [7] *Ib. Syll.* 189.

out of the decree of the League.[1] Another interesting testimonial to the value set on diplomatic services of this kind is afforded by an Attic decree granting a statue to the comic poet Philippides,[2] who gained for the Athenians a supply of corn from Lysimachos, and through whom was effected the ransom and release of many Athenian prisoners in Asia Minor. In those disturbed times the goodwill of high officials was specially valuable to those engaged in trade. It is not surprising to find a statue at Delos erected by the ἐγδοχεῖς[3] and shipowners of the Phoenician city of Laodiceia to Heliodoros the σύντροφος (practically fosterbrother) of Seleucus IV.[4] This man is called 'grand vizir' by Haussoullier, and his power was such that he afterwards murdered Seleucus and put his infant son on the throne. Quite parallel is the statue (again at Delos) set up to Lochos, a high official of Ptolemy VIII., also by merchants and shipowners.[5] Menogenes, 'ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων,'[6] at the court of Attalos II., probably enjoyed similar powers, since the citizens of Nacrasa in Lydia erected his statue.[7] They were a Macedonian colony and may have been protected by him against the people of the surrounding country.[8] The statues erected by the Babylonians to Demokrates[9] who seems to have been its governor under Antiochos IV. and his father, may have commemorated either their gratitude for his goodwill or his services to the city in his official capacity. The Pergamene occupation of Aegina in the second century has already been mentioned with regard to the Calaurian statue of Eumenes II. but is more directly attested by that which the Aeginetans themselves erected to their immediate superior Cleon, governor under Eumenes.[10] These last two statues were set up by people very much in the power of the man honoured and it is not impossible that aversion of illwill was as much a motive for their erection as the recognition of goodwill.

We have however, in the same period, a number of instances of statues erected to allied princes by independent states, some of which are

[1] *V. Ath. Mitt.* xxv. 1900, p. 100. Two inscriptions are extant concerning Hippostratos, one from Smyrna recording the decree, and the other from Miletos recording its carrying out.

[2] *C.I.A.* ii. 314 = Dittenberger, *Syll.* 197.

[3] These were middlemen between the merchants and the shipowners.

[4] Dittenberger, *Or.* 247. The inscription ends with the dedication Ἀπόλλωνι, but is practically an honorary inscription.

[5] *Ib. Or.* 135. [6] *Ib.* 294. [7] *Ib.* 290.

[8] Cf. *Ib.* 291, n.[3] [9] *Ib.* 254. [10] Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions*, 340.

best termed, in Holm's phrase, 'international courtesies' (vol. iv. p. 63). Such are the series from Delphi which show on the one hand with what satisfaction the Delphians welcomed recognition from the Eastern kings, and on the other the reverence in which the latter held the ancient oracle of Hellas. Other statues commemorate active service on the part of the recipient. Among the earliest are the statues awarded to Maussollus of Caria [1] and Artemisia about the middle of the fourth century, by the people of Erythrae. Maussollus had probably made efforts to win their favour—perhaps by protecting them against Athens in the Social War—in order to gain support in his attempts to become master of Ionia. One of the numerous 'condottieri' who flourished about the same time, Athenodoros—who was connected by marriage with the Bosphoran kings and was somewhat of a power in that region—received a statue from the people of Kios,[2] whom he had helped or protected in some time of distress. In 314–3, the Athenians decreed a statue to Asander,[3] a Macedonian general afterwards satrap of Caria, in recognition of his timely help in bringing ships to aid them, perhaps in an expedition against Lemnos (313 B.C.).

More as a courtesy than anything else the Byzantines erected statues at Olympia to Antigonos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes;[4] besides the inscribed statue-bases, a decree has been found, obviously contemporary, resolving to pay them various honours, amongst others to send a congratulatory embassy to Demetrios after the battle of Ipsos. Though the statues are not mentioned in the decree it seems probable that they were erected in accordance with its tendency. The Byzantines were one of the many states of Asia Minor who retained their independence and were always in alliance with the dynasty of Northern Greece against the Seleucids. The people of Aptera in Crete, at that time a league of independent states, in recognising the friendship of Attalos I., granted him various privileges, including that of levying mercenaries in their territory, and as a visible sign of their goodwill a bronze statue, either on horseback or on foot, to be erected wherever he pleased.[5]

The inscriptions from Delphi which enlighten us as to its relations

[1] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 107, and Hicks, 102.
[2] Hicks, *op. cit.* 99. [3] *Ib.* 104, and *B.S.A.* vol. vii. p. 157.
[4] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 170–172 and *Olympische Inschriften*, v. pp. 88, 429.
[5] *Ib. Or.* 270.

with the East are, as before stated, three in number. The first is a decree in honour of Antiochos III. (205–202 B.C.) which begins by setting forth his piety and goodwill and that of his ambassador Pausimachos, towards the Delphic oracle, and in return not only accedes to his request that the city of Antioch should be held sacred and the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus and of Apollo there likewise, but grants in addition an honorary statue.[1] Similarly, when Eumenes II. asked that the Delphians should recognise and participate in his newly established games of the Nikephoria at Pergamon, his request was readily granted, and statues decreed to him on horseback and to his brothers on foot.[2] Again, Attalos II. was granted an honorary statue as a mark of gratitude for his extraordinary benefits to the sanctuary on which he had bestowed large sums for purposes of education and cult.[3]

The connexion of the Pergamene kings with Athens is represented by a statue erected at Olympia to Philetairos, son of Attalos I.[4]: and the benefits they received from Antiochos Epiphanes who, amongst other things, continued building the unfinished Olympeion, were also acknowledged by an honorary statue[5] (c. 175 B.C.) The Delians, being dependent on trade, owed their existence mainly to the protection of foreign kings, and it is probably in recognition of the goodwill of Perseus of Macedon that they erected a statue to his wife Laodike.[6] Finally we find Chersonesos setting up the statue of Diophantes a general of Mithradates, by whose remarkable victories—set forth at length in the decree—they were protected against the inroads of the Scythians.[7]

There remain a few other statues of this period not given to sovereigns nor to other powerful persons nor to allied princes, yet to persons eminent in their time and who had distinct claims to such honour. An inscription from Erythrae directs the restoration of a statue of one Philitos 'from which the oligarchs had taken the sword.'[8] He is described as a benefactor and as having slain the tyrant. This phraseology at a time when the age of tyrants was already past, appears to mean that he, as a democratic pro-Macedonian leader, had slain the chief of the oligarchical pro-Persian party. The statue doubtless represented him as a new Harmodios

[1] *Ib.* 234. Michel, *op. cit.* 252. [2] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 295, 296 (179–176 B.C.).
[3] Michel, *op. cit.* 263. [4] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 299. [5] Id. *Or.* 248. l. 56 and note 29.
[6] *Id.* 294. [7] Michel, *op. cit.* 338.
[8] Dittenberger, *Syll.* 139.

or Aristogeiton. Among Attic honorary decrees we find two granting statues at state expense (which we have seen was not always the case) to leading men of their time, viz. the first half of the third century B.C. One of these was Aristophanes, a commander of the garrisons at Eleusis, Phyle and Panakton, who erect the statue.[1] He had been gymnasiarch, phylarch, twice strategos and was clearly a prominent municipal leader. The immediate cause of the decree—his munificent celebration of the Haloa—was only of secondary importance. The other, Phaidros son of Thymochares, who is honoured by the people,[2] had held for years the office of strategos in some form or other, and finally attained that of *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα*, which involved the supreme command in war.

The priestess Metris at Pergamon owed the honorary statue erected to her by the people[3] mainly to the accident of holding office in a year of signal good fortune to the city and its sovereign—all being ascribed to the efficacy of her prayers.

The erection of a statue by the people of Caunus to Sostratos of Knidos (306–221 B,C.)[4] is of particular interest as showing the recognition of scientific attainments; he built the Pharos of Alexandria which has surpassed in fame its architect. With this may be compared the statue erected in the second century to Decimus Cossutius, the Roman employed by Antiochos Epiphanes to continue the building of the Olympieion.[5]

It will be seen that the number of honorary statues is not so great as is generally supposed. Not all cases of course, have been quoted, but not many of those for which there is direct evidence have been omitted. It is true that the number of honorary decrees and of honorary inscriptions is great, but while, as may readily be seen in Francotte's paper, the granting of *προξενία, ἀσυλία, προμαντεία*, crowns, etc., is frequent, the proportion of cases where a statue is granted is much smaller. In fact up to Roman times statues are granted only to great men, or men in great positions. Undoubtedly great numbers of portrait-statues were to be seen in public places—in the markets, by the roadside, and in sacred precincts round the temples, yet when, from the whole number, *ἀναθήματα*, athlete statues and private statues have been excluded, the proportion of honorary statues is small.

Again, the gradual decrease in value is less than has been held. Changes

[1] *C.I.A.* iv. 2. 614 b. = id. 192. [2] *C.I.A.* ii. 331. [3] Dittenberger, *Or.* 299.
[4] *Ib.*, *Or.* 68. [5] *C.I.A.* iii. 561.

there were,—in the reasons for award and in the class of the recipients, but the reasons are nearly always intelligible and quite permissible, and of a sort to which none but a purist would take exception. The value of the distinction was easily recognised by statesmen and diplomatists and employed for their own purposes even in the earliest stages of the custom. Side by side with the use of honorary statues to reward intrinsic merit was their use to reward services to the state. This political application, at first the exception, ended by becoming the rule.

Dealing with honorary statues under the Diadochi and their successors, I have for convenience made distinctions based on the relation of giver to receiver, but practically all fall within the second of the classes just mentioned, consequently the inscriptions relating to them are particularly valuable as throwing light on the changing politics and international relationships of a period of extreme complexity—a complexity intensified by the scarcity of material.

M. K. WELSH.

DR. COVEL'S NOTES ON GALATA.

(PLATE II.)

DR. COVEL was chaplain to the Embassy at Constantinople from 1669 to 1677. Of his copious and interesting Journals, a portion, relating chiefly to his voyage and to political affairs at Constantinople, has been edited, with a portrait and biographical notice, by J. T. Bent, and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1893. The Journals were, in part at least, intended for publication, for Grelot[1] refers to an expected work of Covel's on the walls of Constantinople; the notes on Galata are more detailed than those of most contemporary writers,[2] and, though they are in Covel's handwriting, are possibly borrowed; it is not his habit to write in Latin, and the reference to the tomb of the Comte d'Artois as still in possession of the monks, perhaps points to a slightly earlier original.

Reference is made below to two of Covel's MS. volumes now in the British Museum—the folio, *Add. MSS.* 22,912, and the quarto, *Add. MSS.* 22,914: the Galata notes are chiefly in the latter, where they occupy the present *foll.* 76–80; they have also a separate pagination 1–8: I have placed the general description of the walls (pp. 4 *ff.*) first, as forming a suitable introduction.

The history of Galata-Pera, which was granted to the Genoese in 1303, and thenceforward governed by an annually elected Genoese *podestà*[3] till the fall of Constantinople, has been treated by many authors, lately by Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, 1893. The documents and inscriptions are collected by Belgrano, *Studi e Documenti su la Colonia dei Genoves; di Pera* in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, xiii. pp. 67–336, 931–1003: where his readings of the inscriptions are accompanied by photographs, I have regarded them as final and abstained from reproducing Covel's copies, so that the inscriptions reproduced below are either wholly unpublished or notable variants from known texts. Inscriptions in Latin character are so printed, the rest use the Lombardic throughout.

[Quarto MS. 78. *Verso* = p. 6] Portae Galatae sic habent 1. Coulá capi *i.e.* turris porta: 2. Hassanaga Capsi 3. Topanáh capsi 4. Carácui 5. Kerets Kapi (Calcis porta) 6. Igri capi 7. Mumhana capi 8. Koorshoon magazì *i.e.* penus plumbeus 9. Baluckbessar 10. Yiògh capi 11. Κιουρκὶ καπὶ Pellis porta 12. Záp Kapsi: sed in hoc catalogo Caracuí octavū locū habere debuit post | Koorshoon magazi.

[1] p. 75.

[2] P. Gyllius *de Top. Cp.* x.–xi.; Nic. de Nicolay, p. 69; Thos. Smith (in Ray's *Colln. of Voyages* ii. 39; Tournefort, letter 12.

[3] Photographs and plans of the Han Franchini, formerly the Podestà's palace, are given by de Beylié in *l'Habitation Byzantine*,' Supp. Pl. X and p. 15.

Von Hammer (*Constantinopolis*, 1822. ii. p. 76 f.) also enumerates twelve gates, 12. Kulle Kapussi, 11. Topchana Kapussi, 10. Egri

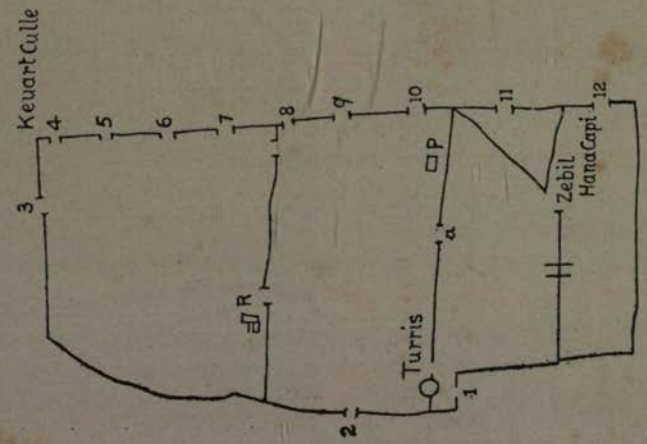


FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF GALATA (after Covel's MS. 22,914).

Kapussi, 9. Kiredschi Kapussi, 8. Mumchana Kapussi, 7. Kurschunlimachsen Kapussi, 6. Kara Koï Kapussi, 5. Balik basar Kapussi, 4.

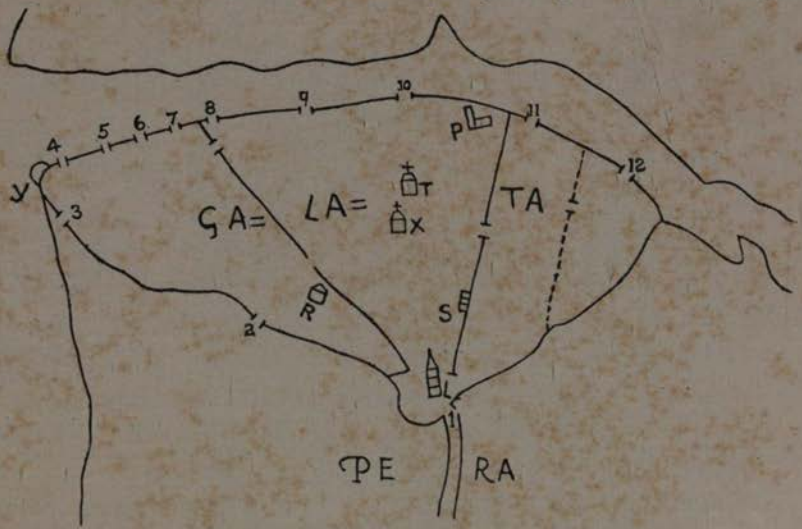


FIG. 2.—GALATA, FROM COVEL'S MAP OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN MS. 22,912, F. 78.

Jag Kapussi, 3. Kürekdschi Kapusssi,[1] 2. Asab Kapussi, 1. Meit Kapussi: he thus omits Hassanaga K. (in the northern wall west of the

[1] 'Das Thor der Rüderer': Kurek = (1) oar, (2) skin: cf. Covel's 'Pellis porta' and 'Furriers' Gate' in his map (folio MS. f. 78).

Tower of Galata) which had perhaps been blocked, and inserts a new gate (Meit K. = Yeni K. on Belgrano's map) on the harbour side.

The Italian map gives the names of four gates on the harbour side: P. S. Antonio (Azab Kapussi), P. Comigo, P. S. Chiara, P. delle Bombarde (Top Hana Kapussi). The south-east corner tower is designated Kenart Kulle ('Strand-castle?') by Covel on his map.

Dividitur in tres vel quatuor p̄ts íntermuralibus mediis: 1° a χρυσ[οποίη] ad Caracui, ubi duas etiam portas invenimus: nomen ultimae Caracui, superioris non scio; 2. a turre ad mare inter yiogh et κιουρκί; duae item ibi portae ignotae; euntes per inferiorem portam *a*, ubi foras haec insignia sunt (imp̄ii Greci et Perae credo) supra aliam portam, Zebil-hana sive aquae exhibitoria domus dictam, ad Azab capi tertium murum pertransire videntur.

χρυσοποίη (as Covel spells it below) is the church of Παναγία χρυσοπήγη, mentioned frequently by Gerlach.[1]

Covel's very imperfect map and obscure Latin leave some uncertainty as to the position of the gates: thus the gate *a* should from the map be Yanek-kapu, but the arms above it—1 and 3 Genoa, 2. the four B's of the Paleologi—are quoted by Belin (p. 141) from Azab-kapu: and the gate later known as Azab-kapu is Covel's Zebil-hana Kapu (named after a fountain, Zebil, attributed by Scarlatios ii. 48, to the mother of Mahmud I.), while Covel's Azab-kapu seems from his map to be the *Yeni Kapu*, *Meit Kapu* of later writers.

The development of the quarters of Galata in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is discussed at length by Desimoni.[2] Buondelmonti's map of Constantinople (1420), first published by Ducange, shews three clearly marked divisions, and a more exact view is given by the sixteenth century map published by Dr. Mordtmann.[3] (Plate II.) The contemporary Nicolas de Nicolay seems to imply that the three quarters were allotted respectively to (1) Perote Franks, (2) Greeks, and (3) Jews and Turks: Scarlatios' map marks Ἑβραϊκή in the eastern Tournefort names them, (west) 'Quartier d'Azap Kapi,' (central) 'Galata de la Douänne,' (east) Karakeui ('black village,' probably a memory of the church and gate of S. Chiara).

The history of the walls seems to be as follows; the original *enceinte* extended from Azab-capu to a point just west of the 'Step Street' (Yuksek Kalderim), its northern boundary being the present Rue Voivoda. The next addition was the triangle having the Tower

[1] (*Türkisches Tagebuch*, pp. 62, 83, 167, 470.)

[2] *Giornale Ligustico di Archeologia*, 1874, 137–80: 1876, 217–74.

[3] Cons'ple, Lorentz and Keil, 1889. The original is evidently the basis of the maps of Furlan (Venice 1567), Braun and Hogenberg (*Civv. Orbis Terrarum*, 1577–8) and Ballino (*Città e Fortezze*, 1569–79), etc., and to a certain extent that of Seutter (*Rev. de l'Art Chrétienne*, 1891, Pll. III., IV.). Grelot's view of Constantinople also gives a good idea of Galata in the seventeenth century.

FIG. 3.—(1) HARYB-KAPU.

FIG. 3.—(2) WATERGATE.

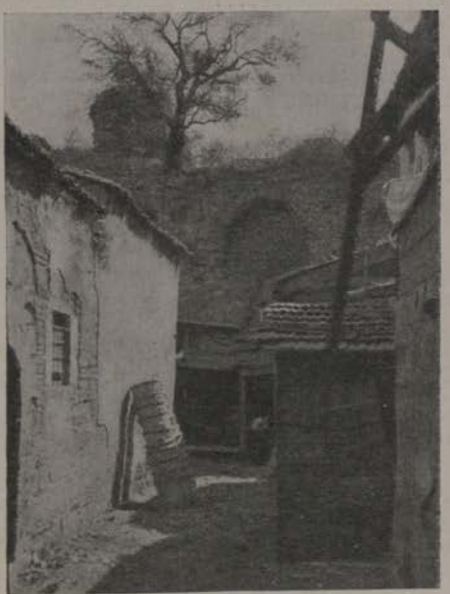


FIG. 3.—(3) HARBOUR WALL FROM ZIA SOKAK.

of Christ at its apex; later the north-west corner and large eastern quarter were included, and last of all the small western annexe outside Azab-kapu.

The walls were to a large extent destroyed in 1869, the surviving fragments being those incorporated in existent buildings. The simple gate Haryb-Kapu still exists (Fig. 3. 1.): over it are the arms of (1 D'Oria, (2) Genoa, (3) 'De Merude,'[1] in an enriched panel these seem to have escaped notice. The arch of one of the water gates (Eski yagh capu?) is still to be seen at the end of Bokluja Sokak (Fig. 3. 2.), just west of which at the back of a stable is a portion of the cross wall.

As to the structure of the walls, the following isolated note occurs in Covel's folio MS. f. 159.

'The walls of Galata have onely one pretty large (in some places 3 yards, in some 4 wide) foot bank or peripet, the battlements brest high above it and small arches under it.'

This is seen on the western of the two inner walls radiating from the Tower of Christ in the Italian map, and in a still existing fragment of the sea-wall at the end of Zia Sokak the arcade is preserved. (Fig. 3. 3.)

79 *R.* Extra Azap capsi inscriptio, sed aedificijs coperta: aetas apparet, M · CCCC · XXX · III: Supra *Κουρκὶ καπὶ* haec habes; + · M · CCCC · XXX · VIII · p · Augusti .... spectabilis dñi · Iohanis · Leuánto · : insignia et verba quaedam perierunt. Vid. p. 2. B.

The inscription is new: *tempore* or *potestacie* should evidently be supplied. For Johannes de Levanto and his arms, see below p. 57.

Haec habentur supra arcum sub parte orient. S^ti^ Pauli, nunc in mesquitā versae:

+ annis · ducētis · septē · mille · CR tginta ·
et sexagīta · septē · tribus · CR yginta ·
Octubris · die · tercia decīa · CR · finalis ·
est · Braschi · dies · expletus · Impīalis ·
cui'. hic corp'· iacet · sub · Bitu · porte ·
orāe · fratres · uris · sua · pcīb'· forte ·
erit · sublimi · requies · ī · specula · sorte

hinc inde aquila coronata, alis expansis.

The inscription is a clumsy attempt at rhyming hexameters, apparently incorrectly copied, the date (1327?) being obscure. The last three lines run

[1] See below, p. 60.

Cuius hic corpus jacet sub ambitu (?) portae
Orate, fratres, vestris sua precibus forte
Erit sublimi requies in saecula sorte.

The Imperiali of Genoa bear: *arg. au pal d'or, ch. d'un aigle de sa. cour. d'or*, but Covel's sketch rather resembles the eagle of D'Oria.

Another member of the family was *podestà* in 1422–3 (*Docc.* xcvi., xcviii.) and is commemorated by a wall-inscription published by Burgess (*Greece and the Levant* ii. 170) which seems to have escaped notice. It reads 'Spectabil. Nobil. Illarius. Imperialis. Potas. Pere.' Burgess erroneously gives the date as 1390 when Illarius Imperialis was certainly not *podestà* (cf. *Docc.* xxxi.–xxxiii. *incl.*).

(The Genoese made a Leage with Eman: Comnen: about 1150: perhaps about this time they bought Galata Bizar p. 10. Chair gate I could not hear of (*Crus.* 51. κε'. 89)).

P. 10 of the Galata notes is missing: the second reference is to a *Claranae pontem* (S. Clarae sive Clarana *porta*? see above p. 52) mentioned by Crusius.

79 *V.* = p. 8. Foras in agris (?) inter sepulcra Latinorū et occidentaliū Xtianorū vetustius hoc Genuensiū monumentum inveni:

[Belgr. Pl. VI.]

haec insignia hinc inde apposite fuerunt [sketch].

80 *R.* + dn̄s : Lāfrancus : Brancheleo
nis : abas : cōis : et : populi : Peire :
hedifichari : fecit : palatiū : ist
ud : de : pecunia : cōis : Peyre : in : t̄pr :
dn̄i : Cōstātini : Aurie : Potestatis :
Peire : et : totius : imperii : Roma-
nie : M · CCC : XXX : VIII · die : prima Septembris :

76 *R.* = p. 1 [headed 'At Galata']. Intrando coenobiū. D. Francisci in superliminari haec habes:

(*a*) + ad · honorē · D'i. z · b̄te · V̄gis · Mat's · ei' · Māie hoc · ōp' · fēc · fiēi · dn̄s · Fred'ric'. d'. Podio · M · CCC · XXXX · IIII · mēse · Madii · z' · sepl'c · ī · q̄ · iacet · dn̄a · Andola · ūx ·

ē · q̄ · obiit · ī · M̊ · CC̊C · XX̊XX · IIĪ · die · XV̊III · Dc̄eb̄s : + q · dns ·
Frederic' · obiit · M̊ · CC̊C · LV̊IIII. die · XII. Nov̄bs.

Antis hinc inde inscribuntur haec insignia (sketch).

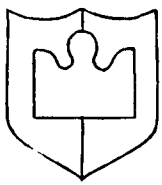


FIG. 4.—ARMS OF POGGY OF ROME.

Poggy of Rome bears; *parti de gu. et arg. à un mont isolé de trois coupeaux de sin., brochant sur le parti.*

76 *R.* = p. 1. Ad dextram super murū ejusdem coenobij, occurrunt ista:

FIG. 5.—ARMS OF TESTA.

(*b*)

M · D · XIII.
MENIA · H ÆC TERE
MOTV · DIRVTA · DN̄S · AN
DREAS · TESTA · EX · PROP
RIO · ÆRE · REFABRICAVIT.

Testa of Austria bears: *D'or à trois bandes de gu. au chef d'azur ch. d'un col et tête d'un lion d'or, lamp. de gu.* This stone was known to Belin (p. 151) and Belgrano (No. 32) only from an imperfect copy by Carlo Testa (formerly first dragoman of the Austrian embassy) which was found among his papers by his grandson.

76 *V.* = p. 2. *a.* Ad portam, Hassanaga capu dēta, supra Turrem:

[1. Genoa. 2. Paleologi.]

Insignia 2^do^ loco posita sunt Imperii Graeci propria: atq: quatuor B. interprete Bodino significant *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων βασιλεύων βασιλεῦσι*

= Belin 142. Belgrano 6?

b. eandem portam intranti in horto ad laevam occurrit etiam haec inscriptio in muris :

[1. Fregoso.[1] 2. Genoa. 3. de Levanto?]

• M̊ • CC̊C · XXXXII̊ • tempore • spectabi
lis • domini • Johanis • de • Levanto • •
quadra erat.

The stops are mascles or open lozenges. Levants of Brabant bears '*losangé d'arg. et de gu*'., for which Covel's rough sketch may be intended. I. de Levanto was *podestà* in 1438 (*Docc.* i. cv. p. 204), while members of the family are mentioned in the conventions of the Genoese with the Byzantines as early as 1261.[2]

Cf. Belgr. 30. Belin p. 150.

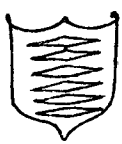


FIG. 6.—ARMS OF LEVANTS OF BRABANT.

In coenobio S^ti^ Francisci multa sunt sepulchra epitaphiis ornata : hic illic pauca vetustiora descripsimus : sed et hoc quod sequitur et ob viri dignitatem et ob lapidis praestantiam haud sine molestiâ explorare non gravabor : virum inscriptio indicat, lapis vero ophites est elegantissimus, tum qui inferior arcam, tum qui superior operculū efficit. En tibi ad amussim oīa :

+ sepvlcrvm ⁝ m	agnifici ⁝ dni ⁝ Fili
pi ⁝ de ⁝ Artoes ⁝ c	omitis ⁝ de ⁝ Eu
et ⁝ conest	abelary Fran
cie ⁝ q̄ ⁝ obyt ⁝	in ⁝ Micalici ⁝[3]
M̊ ⁝ CC̊C ⁝ LXXXXVII ⁝ die ⁝	XV ⁝ Ivnii ⁝ q̊ ⁝ est
caro'[4] ⁝ sva ⁝ aia ⁝ cvivs ⁝	reqvieschat ⁝ in ⁝ pace ⁝

Covel's sketch shews the stone to have been a coffin with steep ridge roof and antefixes on which were the arms of Artois (*Semé de France, au lambel de gu. de quatre pendants, ch. chacun de trois châteaux*

[1] 'haec insignia extra Coula Capi : sed inscriptio obscurior quam quod opāe pretiū sit describere' (Covel).

[2] Pagano, *Delle Impresse e del Dominio dei Genevesi in Grecia*, p. 237.

[3] Myrleae (*Cov.*) [4] Credo Cardinalis (*Cov.*)

d'or). The inscription is broken by a large cross, broadening at the ends : . Another is incised on the body of the sarcophagus.

The above is given by Ducange[1] with some minor variations, and quoted by Belin (p. 91) who says: 'On lit dans les archives des Missions Capucines dans le Levant, le 19 Février 1656 le curé de l'église St. François présenta à M. de Lahaye une pierre verdâtre, comme étant un tombeau dans lequel on n'a rien trouvé, mais dont le couvercle portait l'épitaphe d'un comte d'Artois, qualifié connétable de France, mort en 1384 ou 5.' Covel's note gives a different colour to the incident: 'Gravis cõtentio accidit inter fratres S. Annae et M^r Lahaye qui hoc saxum sui juris sacrilege fecisse studuit.'

Philippe d'Artois was captured at Nicopolis in 1396 and died in captivity the following year at Mihallitch. This sarcophagus can only have been a temporary resting-place of the remains, which were embalmed and sent to France. The tomb in the church of Eu bears the inscription 'Cy gist très noble et haut prince, Monsieur Philippe d'Artois, jadis Comte de Eu, connestable de France, lequel trépassa en la ville de Micalitz, en Turquie, le 16^e jour de Iuing, l'an de grâce 1397. Priez Dieu pour l'áme de lui. Amen.[2]

77 *R.*=p. 3. Supra ostium coenobii R.P. e Soc: Jes: (olim F.F. Benedictinõr.), q^d scalas ascendentem in sacellũ ducit, ad laevam:

+ad · honorem · Dei · et · santissime · uisitacionis ·
Uirgini' · Marie · et · beatisimi · patris · nostri · Bene
dicti · hoc · monasteriũ · fundatũ' · fuit · M̊ · C̊C̊C̊ · X̊X̊ ·
VII · die · XII · Madii · tp̄r · beatisī · d · d · nr̄i · Pape · M · V · + ·

Eccl̄ia quam Graeci nuncupant *ἁγία χρυσοποίη* in Galata jam tenet pr̄iarcha Hierosolymitanus, sed nec preces nec liturgiũ celebrat umquam intus, ne Turcis occasiõē praebeat sub quolibet p̄textu eam eripiendi.

77 *V.*=p. 4. (*a*) Supra portam *μοὺμ χανὰ καπσὶ* turcice, grecè vero *καλογραίας πορτὴ*

[Belgrano, Pl. XVIII.]

[1] *Cp. Xt.* IV. xlii. 123. See also Bullialdus in Ducae cap. xiii. p. 559 B, who saw the stone in 1647.

[2] Estancelin, *Hist. des Comtes d'Eu*, 1828, p. 407. Froissart (ed. Buchon xiv. p. 43) says he died at Haute Loge (Alto Luogo=Ephesus?), Ste Marthe (*Généal. de la Maison de France*, p. 36 that he died at Brusa. We know from Froissart and Boucicault (ch. 27) that the captives of Nicopolis were assembled at Brusa during the negotiations, and Mihallitch lies on the way thither; the Comte d'Artois may have died on the road. Froissart says that en venant et en amenant jusques là les barons turcs qui guides et gardes en étoient leur firent moult de peine et les battirent et travaillèrent assez.'

(*b*) Supra portam Igrí capi (turcice) eadem tria insignia cū hac inscriptiōe :

[Belgrano, Pl. XIX].

Both inscriptions are published by Belin pp. 148–9, and Belgrano gives lithographs of the stones. Covel reads THREICIO in l. 3, where the stone is broken, and for the now illegible last line :—

AN · DN · M · CCCC · XXXX · VI · DIE · XX · SEPTEMBRIS.

The inscription (b) has an additional interest as a composition of Cyriac of Ancona (cf. *Docc.* ii. xviii).

78 *R.* = p. 5. (*a*) Extra portam Tophana, sinistram, versus in turrib. et muris vallo cinctis usque ad Hassanaga capsi occurrunt aliae inscriptiōes quas aut tempore exesas aut distantia remotas euntibq : redeuntib:q : illic Turcis non facile assequi potui : ibi occurrunt haec insignia :

[1. Adorno 2. Genoa 3. Grimaldi].

duo prima Marufi forsan.

The same three coats, from a different position, are shewn on Belgrano's Pl. XVI.

78 *R.* = p. 5. (*b*) Intra portam Κερὲτσ κατσὶ, *i* : *e* : *de calce*, ad laevam vertenti occurrit hoc :

de Frācis Galatae Feilip̄ digne potestas
litoria menia burgi cōurbe' iucsit.
terdenis p̄ mille labentibus annis
et quatrīgētis · q̄ · Xps · nos · reparavit.

Belgrano (after Mas-Latrie) reads in l. 2 : *coloniae urbi junxit*, but as a hexameter ending is evidently needed, '*consurgere* (CŌSURGE') *jussit*' may be suggested as an alternative.

78 *R.* = p. 5. (*c*) Paulo ultra haec habes :

[1. Fregoso. 2. 'de Merude.' 3. Genoa. 4. Fazio.]

spectabilis dn̄s Lucharis
de Facio Potestas z̃c
hec menia compleri fecit
anno dn̄i M · CCCC · XXXXVII ·

Mas-Latrie gives this inscription (*Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, Sér. II. vol. ii. p. 494) with readings (l. 1) *Luchinus*, (l. 2) *coloniae*, (l. 3)

moenia. Belgrano neglects the text as a bad copy of his own No. 28 = Belin, p. 150. *Luchinus* is certainly the correct reading (cf. Belgrano 28, *Docc.* I. cxxii. 209, cxxiv. 210).

76 *V.* = p. 6. In hospitio divi Iohīs. baptist., ubi peste aut alijs morbis contagiosis affectos tractant Galatei—Pater Dn̄icanus ibi habitat cui stipendium quinque Leonum per mensem solvitur, ab oībus navibus hic appellentibus ex Italia, Francia, etc. colligendum.

The hospital of S. John the Baptist, *des Pestifères*, mentioned in a document of 1418 (ii. xv.), is said by Belin to have stood at the S.W. corner of the city, outside Azab Capu, and to have been burnt in 1660. Covel's map shews it at the other end of the city, near Tophana Kapu. *Leones* are the '*Lyon-*' or '*Dogg-*' *dollars* of the United Provinces (alias *Leeuendaalder*, *Leone*, *Leoncino*, *Arslani*, *Abou-Kelb*) one of the chief media of Levant currency in Covel's day. Their value fluctuated between 4*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* English.

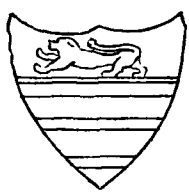


FIG. 7.—ARMS OF DE MERUDE.

78 *V.* = p. 6. Supra lapid: qui olim subliminaris erat haec invenio:

(*a*) +ad ⁝ honorem ⁝ Dei ⁝ et ⁝ glo-
rioxe ⁝ beate ⁝ Marie ⁝ uirginis ⁝ ? [arms]
[arms] beato ⁝ Iohes ⁝ Batista ⁝ hoc ⁝ opus ⁝
feieri ⁝ fecit ⁝ disscreto ⁝ dn̄o ⁝ Ph
ilipo ⁝ de ⁝ Merude ⁝ in M̊ ⁝ CC̊C ⁝ LXX ⁝
II ⁝ die ⁝ ultima ⁝ Iulii ⁝

Several documents (i. xviii. xix. xxi. 1356–8) mention the enfranchisement of a 'Filippus de Merude (de Lomede)' as a citizen of Pera, his heirs are mentioned in a document of 1386 (i, xxvii.).

The arms occur above Haryb-Kapu and cf. above, p. 52.[1]

[1] There would therefore appear to be no connexion with the Brabantine family of *Merode*, though there were several Philips in it about this date (see E. Richardson, *Geschichte der Fam. Merode*).

(*b*) In eodem hospitio
+hae · turi.' istructa · sub · luce · clara · 'a · tuta ·
rotonda · tota · superba · tendens · ad · alt.'
iubente · digno · d' · Francis · potestate · Filipo ·
M · CCCC XXXI
Supra in lapide eodem haec inerant insignia
[Genoa] [blank] [de' Franchi]

For Ph: de' Franchi see Belin, p. 144 = Belgrano 13 (s.d.) The arms of Franchi are: *De gu., à trois couronnes d'or.*

Fol. f. 126. 'In a tavern by my L[d] Ambassadors.'

men ⁝ imperante ⁝ serenissimo ⁝
dño ⁝ dño ⁝ Andronico ⁝ Paleo ~
logo ⁝ Dei ⁝ gra ⁝ imperatore ⁝ Ro ~
meorv ⁝ M ⁝ CCC ⁝ III ⁝ edificata fuit ⁝ ~
Peyra ⁝ et ⁝ M ⁝ CCC ⁝ XC ⁝ cobusta ⁝ fuit ⁝ ~
medietas ⁝ Peyre ⁝ cu ⁝ ecclia ⁝ pala ~
cio ⁝ cois ⁝ et ⁝ M ⁝ CCC ⁝ XVI ⁝ tpre ⁝ po ~
testacie ⁝ dni ⁝ Motani · d' ⁝ Marinis ⁝ ~
redificata ⁝ fuit ⁝ Peyra ⁝ qvi ⁝ dus ⁝ ~
Montan' ⁝ redificari ⁝ fecit ⁝ pala ~
cium ⁝ platea ⁝ logie ⁝ hospitale ⁝ ~
et ⁝ domv ⁝ ponderis ⁝ cois ⁝ et ⁝ eci ~
am ⁝ ex gra ⁝ sibi ⁝ concessa ⁝ a dic ~
to ⁝ serenissimo ⁝ impatore ⁝ do ~
mos ⁝ iuxta ⁝ fossata ⁝ circa ⁝ terra ⁝ ~
Peyre ⁝ diligite ⁝ iusticia ⁝ qui ⁝ iu ~
dicatis ⁝ terra ⁝ audi ⁝ adversam ⁝
parte ⁝ ante ⁝ qva ⁝ feras ⁝ setecciam ⁝

The border is wanting at the top and the upper part of the first word is battered; if nothing is wanting I fancy the first word should be MEN for *memorand.* as *ante*, in the last line.

Covel's copy is beautifully executed on a large scale. The opening formula seems from the analogy of an inscription from Caffa [1] to have

[1] *Trans: Odessa Soc.* vii. 276 (I owe the reference to Mr. E. H. Minns).

been 'In nomine Domini, a]men.' The events are related in almost the same words in the *Continuazione della Chronaca di Jacopo di Voragine*.[1] 'Anno domini MCCCIII. rehedifficata fuit Peyra per concessionem factam per serenissimum principem dominum Andronichum Paleologum imperatorem Grecorum: et MCCCXV. accessit quod igne accidentali quasi tota Peyra combusta est, et Palacium Communis. Et MCCCXVI Palatium Communis rediffícatum et pondus communis et platea, logie, et muri de versus terram facti sunt tempore potestatis domini Montani de Marinis.'

F. W. HASLUCK.

[1] See *Atti Soc. Lig.* x. p. 500.

BOUNDARY AND MORTGAGE STONES FROM ATTICA.

THE following inscriptions are all in the National Museum at Athens The writer wishes heartily to thank Professor Adolf Wilhelm, then Secretary of the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Athens, for calling his attention to the stones, and Dr. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Department, for leave to publish them and for much help besides. The inscriptions are given from the writer's own copies and impressions made in May and June 1905.

Both boundary and mortgage stones were described in Attic Greek by the word ὅρος. The inscriptions themselves prove this twofold use, and there is literary evidence. The following definition is given in the *Etymologicum Magnum.* Ὅρος σημαίνει δύο· τὰ ὅρια καὶ τῆς χώρας τὰ τέλη, καὶ σανίδιον τὸ ἐπιτιθέμενον ταῖς οἰκίαις, καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις ἐγκατα-πηγνύμενον τοῖς ἐνεχυριαζομένοις πρὸς ἃ ὀφείλουσιν οἱ δεσπόται. Here both meanings are clearly stated. Suidas only notes the special Attic use of ὅρος. οὕτως ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὰ ἐπόντα ταῖς ὑποκειμέναις οἰκίαις καὶ χωρίοις γράμματα, ἃ ἐδήλουν ὅτι ὑπόκεινται δανειστῇ· οὕτως Δημοσθένης καὶ Μένανδρος. This again is undoubtedly the force of ὅρος in the famous passage of Solon.[1]

> . . . Γῆ μέλαινα τῆς ἐγώ ποτε
> ὅρους ἀνεῖλον πολλαχῇ πεπηγότας,
> πρόσθεν δὲ δουλεύουσα νῦν ἐλευθέρα.

It is clearly implied here that the removal of mortgage stones was part of the great deliverance brought about by Solon. Mortgage stones

[1] Quoted in Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ. c. 12 ll. 31 ff.; cf. Plut. *Solon*, 15.

do not reappear until the latter half of the fourth century,[1] and it may well be that their use was avoided because they would have reminded the people too strongly of their sufferings in the past.

With regard to the ordinary landmarks of fields and gardens it appears that the Greeks were satisfied as a rule with a wall,[2] a ditch,[3] or some kind of natural boundary.[4] But where the line had been disputed[5] or there was some special reason for making it unmistakable, as in the case of a grave, a temple-garth, or a public place, then an inscribed boundary stone was set up. At Athens there seems to have been a standard size for boundary stones. In *I.G.* (*C.I.A.*) ii. 1055 an Attic deme directs the setting up of certain landmarks which are to be at least three feet high. Now in the museum at Athens there are many neatly cut pillars of about that height; some are inscribed as boundary stones, others are plain but very likely served the same purpose, either blank or with a painted inscription. These pillars bore their inscription near the top, and their lower end was often left rough and pointed for fixing in the ground. Such uniformity of pattern makes it likely that the Athenian masons kept these well-made boundary stones ready in their shops. The conservative feeling of the trade may have been a reason for the retention of H in ὅρος long after its disuse elsewhere.[6] Where a stone wall already formed the boundary, the owner sometimes cut on one of the blocks an inscription stating that the landmark was in that place. In such cases the writing is rough and careless.

The commonest class of boundary stone bears merely the word ὅρος, as though the sanctity of a landmark as such was so great that the single

[1] The Attic mortgage stones are given in *I.G.* (=*C.I.A.*) ii. 1103–1153. Some others are added by Ziebarth, *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1897, pp. 664 ff. This class of inscription is discussed in Dareste, Haussoullier and Reinach, *Inscr. juridiques*, pp. 107–142; and in Roberts and Gardner *Introd. to Gr. Epigr. Inscr. of Attica*, pp. 494–497.

[2] Cf. Demosthenes, lv. πρὸς Καλλικλέα, 11 and 30.

[3] Cf. Thucyd. i. 106.

[4] In the Inscr. from Halaesa, *I.G.* xiv. 352 we find streams, ditches and olive-trees serving as boundaries. The trees were in some cases stamped with special marks.

[5] Cf. Hermann, *De Terminis eorumque religione apud Graecos*, p. 35. In modern Greece a natural boundary such as those mentioned in the text is generally held to be all that is needed. If special distinctness is required, a row of large stones is set up, and any attempts to move them arouse great indignation. Boundary-quarrels sometimes lead to serious disturbance. The writer not long ago heard of a case in Laconia where the rival claimants entrenched themselves on either side of the line, surrounded by armed bands of friends and kinsfolk, and soldiers had to be called in to keep the peace.

[6] See below, p. 65.

word was enough to secure it from violation. The heinousness of the crime of moving a neighbour's landmark is strongly insisted on by Plato.[1] In some cases the offence brought down a curse on the evil-doer.[2]

A further proof of the sacredness of boundaries is supplied by the fact of the divine protection which was supposed to guard them. Zeus was in an especial way the keeper of Boundaries.[3] Apollo[4] sometimes had the same function. But the deity most closely connected with this guardianship was Hermes. His symbol, whether a heap of stones,[5] or an actual Herm[6] was one of the most usual as well as the most sacred form of ancient landmark. With Hermes, Heracles was sometimes associated.[7]

The Greeks indeed had no regular festival connected with boundaries, such as the Roman Terminalia.[8] Nor did they, as a rule, put elaborate numbers and measurements on their landmarks.[9]

In addition to the boundary stones already printed in the *Corpus*, a further collection has been published by Dr. E. Ziebarth.[10] As he has said, it is often hard to tell, where one inscription is so like another, which are already known and which are new. The present writer can only say that he has done his best to avoid mistakes.

§ 1.—Stones Inscribed with ΗΟΡΟΣ only.

This is the largest class and is represented in *C.I.A.* i. (=*I.G.* i.) 508–512, etc. The following are new. The dimensions are given in decimals of a metre. Where not otherwise stated, the finding-place is unknown.

[1] *Laws*, viii. 843 A.

[2] Cf. an inscr. from Skyros. *Revue des Études gr.* 1890, p. 212 . . . ὅρον ὃ|ς ἂν ἐκβάλ|ῃι στατῆρ'|[ἀ]ποδότω τ|[θυ]ναγ καὶ | [τ]ῆ π α ρ ῆ ι ἐ-[ν]ε χ έ σ θ ω. Cf. also the Chian inscr. *B.C.H.* vol. iii. 1879, p. 230, Roberts, *Introd. to Gr. Epigr.* vol. i. No. 149, and pp. 343 ff.

[3] Ζεὺς Ὅριος ; cf. Plato, *Laws* viii. 842 E.

[4] Ἀπόλλων Ὅριος had an altar at Hermione, Pausan. ii. 35 : where indeed the cult is said to be unusual.

[5] Called Ἑρμαῖος σωρός or λόφος ; cf. Hesych. and E. M. *s.v.*

[6] The nature and use of Herms is discussed at length by Hermann, *op. cit.* pp. 20–23, 24–30.

[7] Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* ix. 316. Hermeracles occurs in Cic. *ad Att.* i. 10 § 3.

[8] For the Terminalia, cf. Dionys. Hal. ii. 74, and Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 841 ff.

[9] Such however are sometimes found, cf. *I.G.* (=*C.I.A.*) iii. 1. 408 ; and on a gravestone, *I.G.* (=*C.I.A.*) ii. 1079.

[10] In *Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. zu Berlin*, 1899, p. 776.

1. Hymettus marble slab, ·36×·18 m. No. 4916 in *Archaeological Society's Catalogue.* Bought from Γιαγιάς. Letters about ·025 high.

hόρος.

2. Pentelic marble, fragment of small pillar, ·20×·19. Letters about ·04 high.

hό[ρος]

3. Pentelic marble, ·24×·18. Letters ·03 high.

HO hό[ρος]

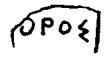
These three stones are well smoothed and handsomely engraved and seem to be from a mason's workshop.

§ 2.—STONES WITH OPOΣ ONLY.

This form is less common than the preceding, and occurs in the *Corpus* only in the late stones *C.I.A.* iii. (=*I.G.* iii.) 412, 414, 415, etc.

Ziebarth has only one example (No. 5) in the common alphabet. It is therefore certain that the aspirate was kept in the word HOPOΣ long after its disuse elsewhere. The following inscriptions however show the newer form at a fairly early date.

4. Pentelic marble, ·28×·24. Letters ·025 high.



ὅρος

or possibly h]όρος. Here again the hand of a skilled mason is evident.

5. Hymettus marble fragment, ·43×·24×·14. Found in Ὁδὸς Σταδίου near the Royal Stables. Inventory number 111. Average height of letters ·03.

ὅρος.

The writing is somewhat rough. The stone may have been built into a wall.

6. Hymettus marble fragment, ·15×·11. Average height of letters ·03.

ὅρος.

This stone is of the same nature as the last.

7. Pentelic marble, ·34×·15. Letters: Ρ ·1, Ο ·04 high.

ƆΡΟ

ὅρο[ς.

Comparison of the lettering with that of Ziebarth's Nos. 7 and 8, where the same forms appear, suggests that the missing letter was a round C, and that the stone is of Roman date. The writing is careless.

§ 3.—STONES MARKING THE BOUNDARIES OF GRAVES.

Many examples of boundaries of graves are already known.[1] In early times the inscription is usually short. The practice of adding warnings and curses[2] was not common in Greece until late times. The grave is called *μνῆμα* or *σῆμα* with little or no difference in meaning. *Θήκη*[3] is a word of more solemn nature, and was often used of a number of graves in one burial-place. Among the less common words may be mentioned *θηκαῖον*,[4] used most often in the plural of the burial ground of a guild,[5] *θηκίον*,[6] and the curiously corrupt *μνημόριον*,[7] the latter being used by Christians only. Τάφος is not found, and must have had unpleasant associations. The following grave-boundaries seem to be new.

[1] Compare *I.G.* (=*C.I.A.*) ii. 1069, 1073, 1084–1087 and elsewhere. Also Ziebarth, *l.c.* Nos. 10–12, 15, etc.

[2] The earliest example, in the common alphabet, is given by Ziebarth, *l.c.* No. 17. A good example of elaborate curses is supplied by the epitaph of Regilla, wife of Herodes Atticus, Ditt. *Syll.*[2] 888.

[3] Examples of *θήκη*, *I.G.* ii. 1088, 1089, 1090, etc.

[4] This word is really an adjective; cf. Hdt. ii. 86 *οἴκημα θηκαῖον*. Its use as a noun is restricted to Cos; cf. Paton and Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 160, 161.

[5] *Ib.* 155–159.

[6] *C.I.G.* 9288 a Christian Inscr. from Samos.

[7] Cf. *I.G.* iii. (=*C.I.A.* iii.), 3513. Dr. Wilhelm holds that this word is a mixture of *μνῆμα* and *memoria*.

8. Hymettus marble slab, ·15×·19. Inventory No. 150. '*εὑρέθη παρὰ τὰ Σφαγεῖα ἐν ἀνασκαφῇ Ἀναστασίου Κυριακοπούλου ἢ Πετρελαίου.*' Letters ·02 high.

ΟΡΟΣ
ΜΝΗΜΑΤΟ[<

ὅρος μνήματος.

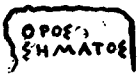
This stone was probably home-made.

9. Blue stone slab, ·25×·14. *Archaeological Society's Catalogue*, No. 4920. Bought from *Γιαγιάς*. Letters ·025 high.

ὅρος μνήματος.

The writing is rather irregular, though the letters are well shaped.

10. Pentelic marble slab, ·25×·20×·02, broken off on the left. Letters ·02 high.



ὅρος σήματος.

The lettering is handsome and bold, though rather thick.

11. Rough block of Pentelic marble, ·30×·31×·05. Letters ·025 high.

ΡΟ
ΗΜΑΤΟΣ

[ὅ]ρο[ς] [μν]ήματος or [σ]ήματος.

The lettering is rough and careless.

12. Hymettus marble fragment, ·19×·18. Inventory number 151. Letters ·035 high.

ΑΤΟΣ

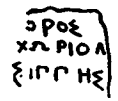
[ὅρος μνήμ]ατος or [σήμ]ατος.

§ 4.—VARIOUS.

13. Pentelic marble, ·10×·09. *Arch. Soc. Cat.* 1322. Letters ·02 high.

ὅρος χωρίου.

14. Hymettus marble, ·17 × ·12. Letters ·015 high.



ὅρος χωρίων [Λυ]σίππης.

This stone seems to refer to the dowry of Lysippe: probably the land was handed over to the husband as in *I.G.* ii. 1067 ὅρος Γλαυκίδος. Sometimes however land was mortgaged as security for payment of the dowry in money; an example is seen in Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική iii. 65, where the land is mortgaged in part for a dowry, while another debt is secured on the remainder of its value.

15. Pentelic marble, ·15 × ·15. Letters ·01 to ·02 high.

The lettering is very careless, and, as the stone is broken all round, restoration is difficult. Perhaps h[ό]ρο[ς χω|ρί]ων κα[ὶ ἱεροῦ | Ἀρ]τέμιδος.

16. Slab of Pentelic marble, ·54 × ·22. Inscription near the bottom of stone. Letters ·02 high.

H I E P

[hόρος] hιερ[οῦ].

Fine lettering.

17. Small piece of Pentelic marble. *Arch. Soc. Cat.* 1545. Letters ·02 high.

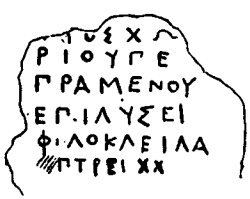
ὅρο[ς] ἱεροῦ.

The last word is complete, O standing for οῦ. The state of the stone leaves it doubtful whether there might have been an H at the beginning of each line or not.

§ 5.—MORTGAGE STONES.

Of this class a great many examples are already known. The inscription showed either that the property was mortgaged (*ὑποκεῖσθαι*) or that it had been taken over in default of payment (*πεπρᾶσθαι ἐπὶ λύσει*). In the latter case an 'equity of redemption' remained with the debtor. Nearly all the existing mortgage stones belong to the latter half of the fourth century. Besides the amount of the mortgage the date and other details were often added. The mortgage was engraved either on the wall of the house or on a separate slab. The stones now to be given were of the latter class.

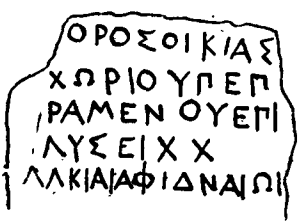
18. Slab of blue stone, ·34 × ·26. Inventory number 324: from the collection of A. Κολλυβάς. Letters ·02 high.



[ὅρ]ος χω|ρίου πε|πραμένου | ἐπὶ λύσει | Φιλοκλεῖ
Λα‖[μ]πτρεῖ XX.

The sum raised was 2,000 drachmae.

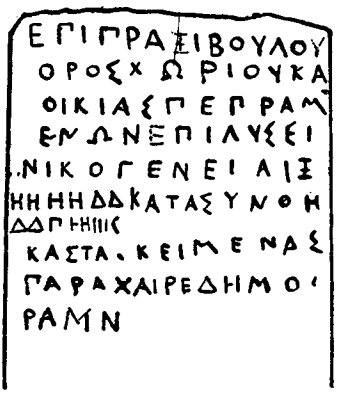
19. Hymettus marble slab, ·60 × ·30. Inventory number 276; from the collection of Ἀγάθων Δαλέκης. Letters ·02 high.



ὅρος οἰκίας, | *χωρίου πεπ*|*ραμένου ἐπὶ* | *λύσει* XX | [Ἀ]*λκιᾶι Ἀφιδ-ναιῶι.*

The lettering is fairly neat. The sum raised was 2,000 drachmae.

20. Slab of Hymettus marble, ·40×·25. *Arch. Soc. Cat.* 4897. Letters average ·015 in height.



ἐπὶ Πραξιβούλου· | *ὅρος χωρίου κα*|[*ὶ*] *οἰκίας πεπραμ-* |
ένων ἐπὶ λύσει || Νικογένει Αἰξ(*ωνεῖ*) | ΗΗΗΗΔΔΔΔΠΡΡΙΙΙΙC
κατὰ συνθή|*κας τὰ*[*ς*] *κειμένας* | *παρὰ* Χαιρεδήμο[*υ*] ||
'Ραμν(*ουσίου*).

The lettering is coarse and irregular. Praxibulus was archon in 315/4. The money raised was 447 drachmae 3½ obols.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

A VISIT TO SKYROS.

§ 1.—The Carnival.

In March 1905 I went to Skyros for a week, primarily to see and photograph the Carnival masquerade described in *B.S.A.* vi. p. 125, by Mr. Lawson. I was there for the last of the three Sundays of Carnival, and the following Monday, when, to the scandal of the Hegoumenos of St. George of Skyros, it being the first day of Lent, the festival is at its height. Although the village sounds with the clatter of the bells of these strange figures all through Carnival, on this last Sunday the masqueraders, of whom Mr. Lawson has given an account, appear in the greatest numbers. A full set consists of three young men, disguised, one as an Old Man (γέρος), one as a Maid (κορέλλα), and one as a Frank (Φράγκος). The Frank's attire differs, but his distinctive features are a sheep-bell tied on at the waist behind, and a conch-shell to blow. He either has a cloth tied over his face, or wears a modern pasteboard mask. The κορέλλα is a boy dressed as a girl, generally with a modern mask, in the festal attire of a Skyrian bride. Carnival is thus a good opportunity to see the fine silk-embroidered skirts, sleeves, and kerchiefs of the women's full dress. The finest of these are old, though embroidery in silk is still practised. The third and most conspicuous of the trio, the Old Man (γέρος), is the masquerader described by Mr. Lawson. As I saw them (Fig. 1), a fully-dressed γέρος was attired as a grotesque shepherd plus a mask and bells, and it is indeed mainly the shepherds[1] who take this part. The upper part of the body down to the waist is clothed in a shepherd's

[1] Owing to their remote life, shepherds often preserve customs and ways lost by the classes who are in closer contact with modern life.

capote worn inside out to display the long fleecy nap like a sheepskin, which lines these garments. The hood of the capote is drawn up to cover the head and secured by a band, and the skirts are girt up to the waist, to give full play to the mass of bells. They wear the shepherds' baggy white breeches, white footless stockings and laced-over shoes (*τροχάδια*), and carry a sheep-hook. Round the waist are perhaps fifty to sixty large sheep-bells hung from the shoulders, to enable the wearer to support the weight. Each bell is attached to the hooped wooden collar worn by the sheep, and these wooden collars are simply strung on a cord round the waist, to keep the bells hanging fairly free to clash, as the wearer jumps up and down. The face is covered with a small skin or piece of fur like a hanging veil with holes cut for the eyes.[1] Very few Old Men wear the modern pasteboard mask, though some have the face uncovered, or wrapped in a cloth. But the full disguise is as I have described it above. The woolly capote worn inside out is an essential, nor did I see any masquerader wearing an animal's skin in place of it.[2] Thus attired the trio run capering down the street, the Frank leaping and blowing his conch, the *Κορέλλα* dancing to shew off her skirts, and the heavily-laden Old Man halting every now and then with his two attendants and jumping up and down to make his bells clash, or indulge in the

FIG. 1.—MASQUERADER (*γέρος*) FROM SKYROS.

[1] This answers to the third variety of cape and mask noted by Mr. Lawson.

[2] Mr. Lawson speaks of goatskin capes. I could learn nothing of these.

favourite horse play of tripping people up with his long sheephook. The popular explanation of the custom is that the Old Men commemorate a shepherd who lost all his sheep through exposure to the snow, and came into the town at Carnival time with all their bells tied round him. The Old Man seems always the leader, and appears sometimes without the other two, whilst I never saw Franks or Maids except in attendance on Old Men.

On the Monday not many Old Men or Franks appear; it is the day of the *μετημφιεσμένοι*, when boys go about disguised as girls, or dressed like the shepherds, who on this day all come into the village in their best clothes, with silk shirts with embroidered fronts and lace sleeves, and white waistcoats and jackets. The waistcoats of the ploughmen on the other hand are generally crimson at the back, which is laced up the middle. More old embroideries are seen on this day than on the Sunday, so one gets a good idea of the women's festal dress, with its embroidered linen skirt and petticoat, to which is attached a vest of very fine silk with hanging sleeves embroidered with tinsel. Over this is worn a brocade bodice and a belt with large silver clasps.

The Carnival also offers a good opportunity of seeing the native dances. I saw the *ballo*, a kind of minuet for two men, or a man and a girl, and a lively dance called the *Papadhiá*, "The Parson's Wife," performed by four men, three of whom hand-in-hand are generally faced by the leader of the dance. The other usual dance is the *Kalés*,[1] a ring-dance of slower movements for men and girls together. This I did not see, but it seems to be the same as the ring-dance that is seen everywhere in Greece.

§ 2.—THE CHURCH OF THE EPISKOPI.

THE town of Skyros is built on the western and northern slopes of a hill which rises steeply on the east side from the sea and is crowned by a rock that springs precipitously from the slopes on all sides. On the top of this crag are the deserted houses of the old castle-town of Skyros, surrounded by Venetian and remains of Hellenic walls. There is only one entrance to this castle, on the northern side, and the modern town streams down the hill from this entrance as if the houses had flowed out of a leak

[1] This is the dialect form for *καλός*.

in the old walls. Entering the old gate of the castle under a tower with a white marble lion over the door, one passes through a covered way to an open space in front of the church of St. George of Skyros, and the house of the Hegoumenos. Here is buried a great jar which is uncovered at each feast of St. George, and filled with wine, which the Saint miraculously multiplies.[1] Sometimes, it is said, it even runs over the lip of the jar, a miracle worthy of the genial Saint, who, according to a folk-song, first hides a girl in the wall of his church, and then at the lover's prayer discloses her.[2] His severer side is shewn by the wonder-working picture in the church which 'sees well from afar,' and punishes any one who defrauds the monastery of its dues. Next comes a vaulted passage and a zigzag walled path up the rock, and one reaches the iron-plated door of the castle itself. Except for the guardian, all the houses are now deserted, after having been for some time used as storehouses, for the security of modern times makes it unnecessary to live in such a crows-nest as this old walled village, perched on the top of its precipitous rock, and only accessible by this one well-guarded entrance. Just inside the door, past the guardian's house, and only separated from the rampart by the little street, is the Episkopi, the ruined church of the Bishops of Skyros, dedicated to the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου.*

In front of the church lies a fragment of a marble cornice said to have fallen from the façade in an earthquake sometime in the last century, which gives us the date of the building. It runs: †ΕΤΟΥΣ $\overline{\sigma}\overline{\text{ϒ}}\overline{\text{Γ}}$ ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΣΑΒΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΒΑ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΩΔΕ† 'In the year 895 A.D. in the reign of Leo and Alexander in the time of Sabas Metropolitan of Athens and Sabas, Bishop of this place.' Leo reigned from 886–911, and his brother Alexander from 911–912. Now Photius was Patriarch of Constantinople from 857–867 and again from 877–886, and Le Quien *Oriens Christianus*, ii, p. 171, states that a synod held to restore Photius after the death of Ignatius, and so about 877, was attended by Sabas, Bishop of Athens. Further, this Sabas was in fact a Metropolitan Bishop, for about the time of Photius (*Oriens Christianus* ii, p. 167), Athens

[1] Mr. Bosanquet reminds me of the church of the Drunken St. George in Paros, mentioned by Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 373. In Pontus also we have *ὁ τρελλὸς ἅγιος Γεώργιος*; see *Ἀθηνᾶ*, ii. 1890, p. 237, footnote 4.

[2] Passow, *Carmina Popularia*, dlxxxvii gives one of the many versions that have been published.

was made a metropolitan see, with ten subject bishoprics, one of which was Skyros. The year of the inscription thus fits perfectly with the history of the time, and it clearly was set up on the church which was probably erected at that time, when the new bishopric was formed. That the first bishop of Skyros was called Sabas appears only on this inscription. That the remains of the church as they stand go back to this period, nothing seems to contradict. The ground-plan (see Fig. 2) is oblong, with an ante-

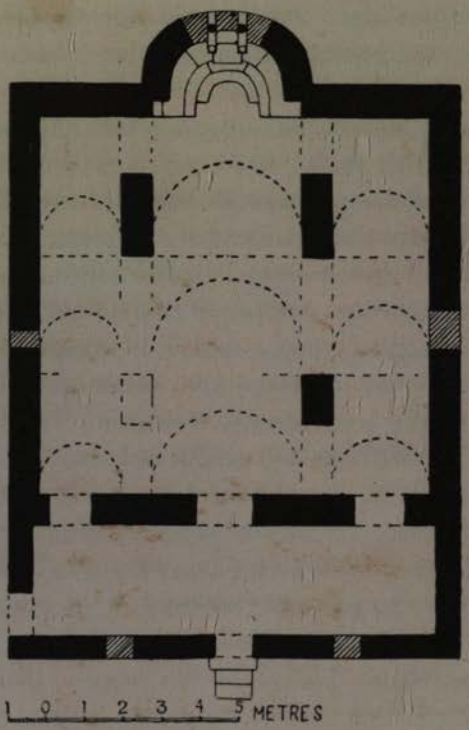


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE EPISKOPI, SKYROS.

church which probably had a lean-to roof. Over the door of this are the remains of a structure which held the bell, and fell only recently. The roof was entirely barrel-vaulted, the central compartment having been the highest, and those in the four corners the lowest. The north-east and south-east areas have now been entirely shut off and are still used as chapels. The rest of the church is not used, and the central vault and the three in the north-west part have fallen in. The north-west pier has also

vanished. The east-end is remarkable for its elevated marble throne with arms ending in small marble pillars. At the two inner corners of the seat rise the octagonal pillars which divide the three lights of the window, which is now nearly walled up. Exactly how the central light was contrived with the back of the throne is not clear, as so much of the marble is covered with plaster, and the ground outside this end of the church has risen to within two feet of the eaves. The steps have also been stripped of their marble covering. Remains of a fresco with the words of the Communion on the back of the throne shew that when this had ceased to be used all the space was plastered over, and painted with the fresco of the Eucharist usual in this place. The oblong marble capitals are carved with crosses with foliated feet. In the chancel lie three marble pillars square below and octagonal above, that clearly belong to a *templon* almost exactly the same as that in the church of Daou in Attica, drawn in *B.S.A.* ix, p. 390, Fig. 2. The marble slabs that formed the lower part of the *templon* have gone, but marks on the sides of the pillars shew the original arrangement. The church is paved with marble slabs, now much broken. Built for Sabas, the first bishop, in it was buried in 1837 Gregorios, the last bishop of Skyros, since when with the desertion of the upper town this church, so closely connected with the island-see, has been left to share the ruin of the surrounding houses. Only on Saturday and Sunday the old guardian comes according to Greek custom to burn a little incense beneath the broken vaults.

The plan is almost exactly that of the Church of the Protaton at Karyés on Mount Athos.[1] The rounded apses, the absence of a dome, the piers instead of columns, the absence of side choirs are common to both. The only differences are that the Protaton has an extra narthex on the north side, and a flat roof instead of barrel vaults. The Protaton was redecorated in the time of Andronicus II (1282–1328) after a fire, and it is unknown how much of the tenth century church of St. Athanasius had survived. This resemblance however to the Church of Skyros casts a light on the question, and makes it clear that the Protaton is in plan at least a work of the tenth century, and the wooden roof may possibly

[1] For a plan and description of the Protaton see Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athosklöstern*, pp. 23, ff. The plan here given of the Skyros church should no doubt have two side-apses, one on each side of the main apse. I did not mark them, because outside, the earth rises so high as to cover them, supposing them to be of the same height as the side apses of the Protaton, and the side chapels in which they would be visible inside I found locked. Of their existence there can be no doubt.

replace an earlier vaulting destroyed with the upper part of the walls by the fire in the thirteenth century. The churches have the same dedication, the *Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*, and it may be that they are due to the same architect. The posts of the side-doors of the *πρόθεσις* and *διακονικόν* in the Protaton are exactly the same in design as those that now lie on the pavement of the apse of the church at Skyros, and belonged to the old *templon*. The original *templon* of the Protaton is now screened by a later wooden structure, and I did not observe if any old stone side-pillars of the central door are visible from inside.

This type of church may be due to the influence of Asia Minor traced by Strzygowski. The use of barrel-vaults in the Skyros church is very eastern, cf. Strzygowski's plan (*Kleinasien*, p. 153, Fig. 122) of a *Kreuzkuppelbasilica* from Trebizond, the native district of St. Athanasius, the builder of the Protaton. He also gives (p. 139, Fig. 105) the plan of a baptistery at Aladscha Kisli in Cappadocia (? fifth century[1]), differing from the Protaton only in the absence of a narthex and in having only one apse sunk in a straight eastern façade. Its four corner spaces are more shut off, in which respect the Protaton occupies a middle position between this and the Skyros Church.

§ 3.—LATE MYCENAEAN AND GEOMETRIC VASES.

Shortly before my visit an interesting tomb was discovered by some men digging for clay for bricks. It was not far from the sea, a few yards from the right bank of the little river which waters the gardens in the valley and then debouches a little to the north of the town. The rapid inroads of the sea in this region,—the marble remains which Tournefort saw (I. p. 171) by the chapel (of St. Demetrius) may, it is said, now be seen under the water two or three hundred metres from the land,—have no doubt destroyed many ancient remains in this flat ground, and this encroachment still continues. Three churches have now been submerged.

The tomb in question is described as having been square and built of stone. It contained a number of vases, but unfortunately also some gold wire. Cupidity gave rise to a quarrel, and that there should be nothing to quarrel about, most of the vases were broken. The remains

[1] Rogers, *Baptism*, p. 327, quotes this church as of the sixth century.

are shewn in Fig. 3. There were also a small jug and cup that were broken from a clay ring, or 'crown,' to which had been fastened some fifteen of these little vessels, jug and cup alternately. This class of object is spoken of in the Palaikastro report of 1904–5, *B.S.A.* x. p. 224, and it is a great pity that this example was destroyed. The vase *a* in the figure has a distinctly Mycenaean decoration on the shoulder and in the

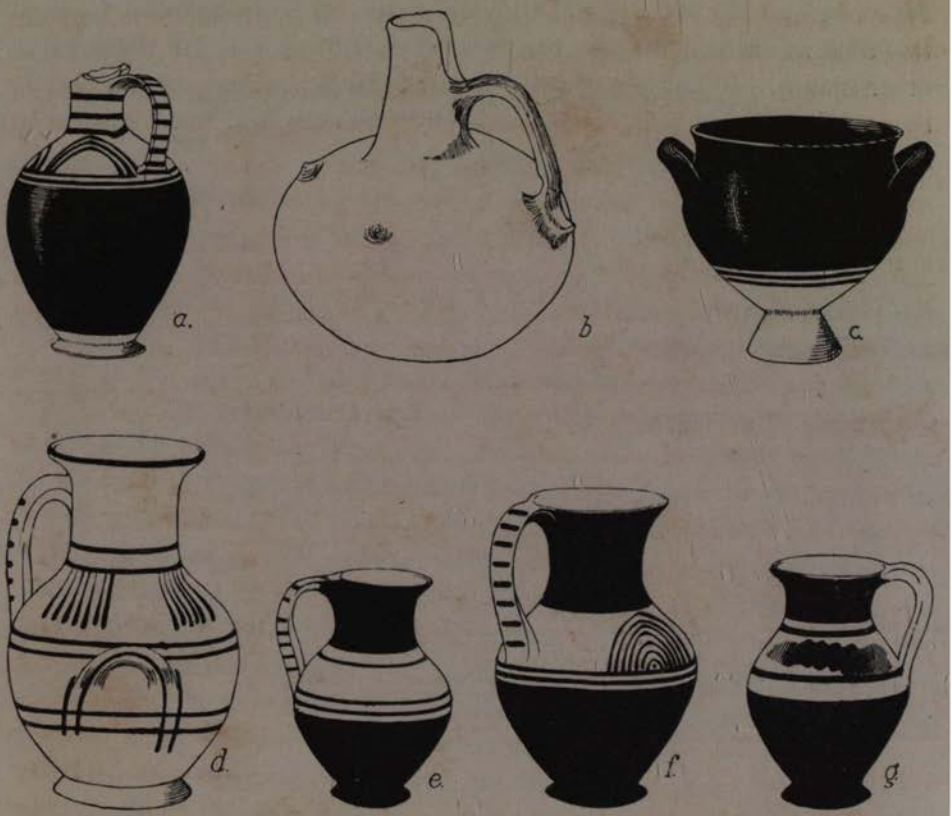


FIG. 3.—VASES FROM SKYROS. (Scale 1 : 4.)

striped handle, whilst *b* presents an extremely archaic form. It was perhaps covered with a black glaze. *C* has the yellow slip and red to brown glaze of *a*, and in shape recalls the latest Mycenaean vases of Crete. The tomb must belong to the latest Mycenaean times. From another tomb come the vases *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, from which I saw also another like *e*, and another like *g*.

They are clearly later than *a–c*, and of geometric style, but it is a geometric that has nothing in common with the Dipylon geometric of the mainland, any more than the Late Mycenaean style of *a–c* has anything in common with the Late Mycenaean of Mycenae and Ialysus. In fact both sets are like the corresponding vases in Crete, and it would seem then that in Skyros, as in Crete, the Mycenaean style degenerated along native lines, untouched by the mainland influence that brought the later style of Mycenae and the style of the Dipylon potter. The isolation of Crete at this time was already known, but these vases indicate that this extended to other islands. In the island-world lingered the old Aegean culture that on the mainland was being swept away by invasions and alien streams of influence.

R. M. DAWKINS.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS NEAR ANGELONA.

(PLATE III.)

THE village of Angelona lies amongst the hills surrounding the plain of Molai, midway between the latter and Monemvasia. About half an hour east of the village is a small plateau known as Kollýri; this plateau is bounded on its south-eastern side by a *revma*, tributary to the greater ravine which runs down to the sea south of the ruins of Epidaurus Limera. At the head of the *revma* is a perpetual spring of good water, and in its neighbourhood are many traces of former human occupation; roof tiles of slightly concave section with a rough red-to-black glaze, and sherds of black-glazed and coarse red pottery are common. A few hundred yards above (west of) the spring an anta capital of poros (Fig. 1) lies on the surface;[1] the block measures 0·82 m. in length, 0·80 in breadth and 0·23 in thickness, and is remarkable because the profile is continuous on the long side but only extends for 0·33 m. on the other. On one end there are traces of an attempt to work the profile, and on the top a series of rough toolings (dowel holes?) parallel to the breadth.

Two hundred yards north-east of the spring (on the edge of the plateau) is a slight rise in the ground, till recently covered with brushwood. The owner of the field, Ioannes Lekakes, burnt off the brushwood in order to bring the land under cultivation, and in so doing revealed a small mound of earth; in levelling this he found a marble relief standing upright, one of terracotta, a roughly circular pedestal of poros with a

[1] A trial pit on the spot where it was found yielded no results.

square sinking in the top, still containing the feet and base of a marble statue, and a terracotta figurine; near by he picked up a small snake in bronze.

These objects were shewn to Mr. Hasluck at Lekakes' house in March 1905. Later we went together to Angelona, and on June 2nd turned over the ground about the spot where the discovery had been made.

Owing to the owner's levelling operations and the building of boundary walls and sheep-folds near by, the site has been much disturbed; we found the rock at a depth of ·40 m. It shewed no signs of having been

FIG. 1.—ANTA CAPITAL OF POROS.

worked, nor did we discover any traces of foundations, though many poros blocks, one of them as much as 2 metres long, have been found in the vicinity. Our excavation was, however, very prolific in small objects; the finds included a large number of miniature vases, a few terracotta figurines, two loom-weights, fragments of ribbed black-glazed ware, the spout of a filler(?) in yellowish clay, a conch, an iron rod and several clamps or hooks of the same material.

A detailed description of the finds is necessary, before any opinion as to their significance can be expressed.

VASES.

Fragments of a large vase decorated with a pattern of vine leaves in black on red.

Miniature canthari (21 complete and 11 fragments), with vertical handles not rising above the rim, in rather coarse red ware: clumsy modelling. H. ·025–·045, Di. ·03–·05 m. (Fig. 2 and Fig. 6, 2).

FIG. 2.—CANTHAROS.

Twelve similar vases (and 4 fragments) of rough black glazed ware.

Larger canthari (1 complete and 4 broken), with vertical handles not rising above the rim, pierced for suspension (round and oblong holes): these vases have feet and are better modelled, but are all of red unpainted ware. H. ·09, Di. ·085 m. (Fig. 3).

FIG. 3.—CANTHAROS.

Small crateres (5 specimens), flat bottomed, with high spreading lip above a narrow waist and a small body to which horizontal handles are attached. H. ·03–·055, Di. ·035–·065 m. (Fig. 4 and Fig. 6, 5).

FIG. 4.—CRATER.

Small jars (2 specimens), quite plain, flat bottoms. H. ·035 and ·055 m.

TERRACOTTAS.

Nude human figure (male or female?) (Fig. 6, 12). H. ·16 m. Head lost. Arms hang down at sides and turn outwards from the hips; they appear to support the clothing (a chlamys?) hanging over the back. Feet level, legs close together and very long. Body long and slender, narrow waist, wide hips, stout chest. Moulded solid and back flat, as though figure leant against a pillar. Archaic style, sixth century B.C.

Torso, upper part, of similar figure. H. ·05 m.

Head of veiled figure, badly damaged (Fig. 6, 14). H. ·03 m.

Torso of draped male figure (Fig. 6, 13). H. ·08 m. Right leg free; left arm hangs at side; right arm was apparently raised; clad in long chiton. Developed style, fourth century, but inferior work. Back flat.

Female head wearing stephane (Fig. 6, 15). H. ·05 m. Developed style, poor work.

(All the above were found in our excavations; those that follow were found by Lekakes.)

Figure seated on throne (male or female?). H. ·12 m. Draped in long chiton; wears veil; hands rest on knees; rough work; developed archaic style; throne high-backed; solidly moulded and back flat.

BRONZE.

Snake (Fig. 5). L. ·31 m. Tail broken off; good work, probably early fifth century. The body is treated conventionally in symmetrical waves with a complete turn near the head which is lifted, details incised.

FIG. 5.—BRONZE SNAKE.

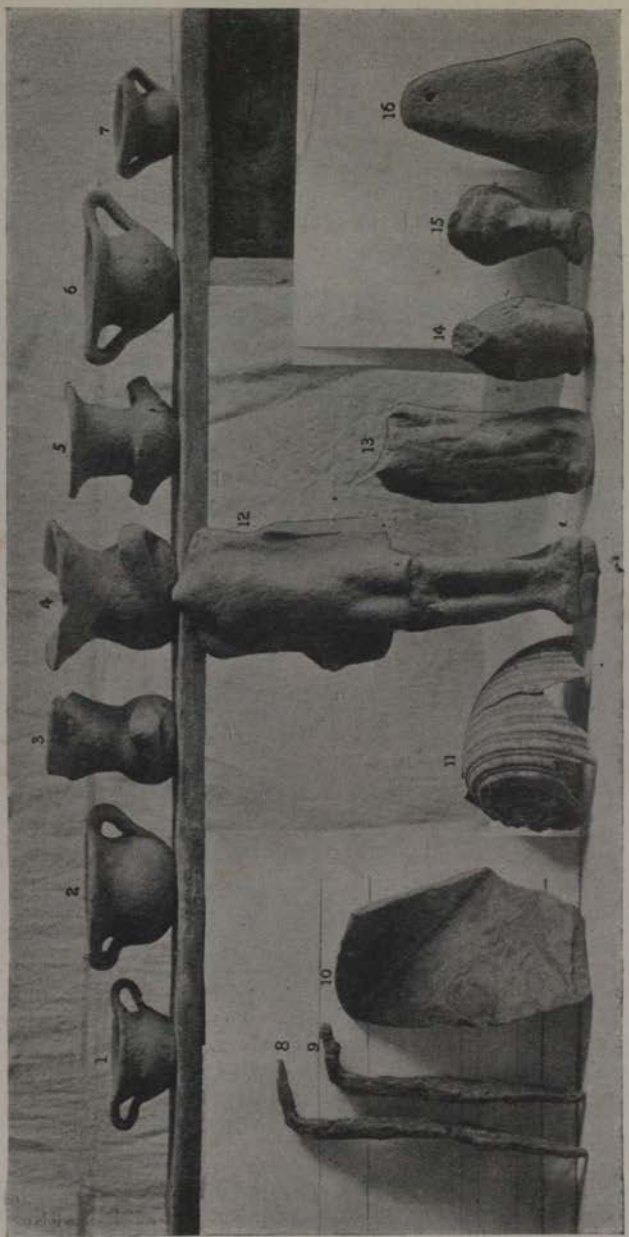


FIG. 6.—MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS.

RELIEFS.

Terracotta.

Hero-relief (Fig. 7). H. ·22, W. ·24, Th. ·03 m. Two holes bored through at top for suspension. On the right sits the hero in profile to the left, big-nosed and bearded. His body and head are *en face*: stiff drapery without indication of texture swathes his legs which thus appear columnar. With his right hand he holds out a cantharus represented by outline, the left hand resting on his knees. The back of the throne slopes outwards; the legs are of animal form joined by a cross-bar below the seat. On the left stands a female figure in profile to the right. She is wrapped

FIG. 7.—TERRACOTTA RELIEF.

in thick, foldless drapery which gives her also a columnar appearance. Her head and body are *en face*; the right hand seems to be holding an *oenoctroe*. The work is rough and shews no detail whatsoever; however the outlining of the figures and the rendering of them partly *en face* and partly in profile is archaic, consequently the relief may be ascribed to the sixth century B.C., though archaisms may have survived longer in Laconian than in Attic art.

Marble.

Votive relief in bluish local marble (Plate III). H. ·49, B. ·33, Th. ·07 m., in two pieces,[1] and damaged at the top by weather and fire; the field is surrounded by a border ·025 m. wide. On the right is shewn an altar (·225 m. high) built of squared

[1] The smaller (right-hand top corner) was recovered on the site by Mr. Hasluck during his first visit.

blocks and with an overhanging edge. On the left stands a bearded man in profile to the right: he is clad only in a *himation* worn under his right and over his left shoulder; the tail hangs down behind, the bottom edge above the feet is symmetrically treated in three curves and bordered. The man holds up his right hand in an attitude of adoration, the (unseen) left arm is bent at the elbow so as to bring forward the hand, which is clenched with the thumb turned downwards over the knuckles. The feet are very long and flat, without instep, and sandalled. The details of the face are indistinct owing to weathering, the hair and beard are rendered apparently by touch strokes of the chisel, and recall the Geraki stele [1]; the hair appears to be plaited and wound round above the nape of the neck. The relief is low and though the edges between the planes are rounded, there is a distinct hardness of line; the drawing is not impeccable, especially in the back behind the shoulder and the clumsy right hand and feet. But the style of the relief is excellent; it illustrates the transition from the simple precision of archaic art to the more developed style of the second quarter of the fifth century B.C.; the handling of the drapery in its desire for daintiness and formal perfection has the quaint stiffness of true archaic art, while on the other hand the simple, dignified composition, especially the poise of the body at the waist and the modelling of the muscles of the right arm, shew the more developed style.

STATUE.

Base with feet; (Fig. 8) ·18 m. square, ·04 high, of bluish local marble. The right foot is advanced: the marble between the ankles has not been cut away, so the legs were clearly not modelled in the round. The feet and toes are long and shapeless.

FIG. 8.—BASE OF STATUE.

This base stood on a block of poros roughly oval in shape and tapering slightly downwards (Ht. 0·20, D. at top 0·34–0·26 m.); it has a square sinking in the top to fit the base, which when originally discovered was inserted. The date is probably sixth century B.C.

These two reliefs deserve detailed examination. The terracotta hero-relief is most remarkable both from its material and because it was

[1] v. below, p. 101, Fig. 3.

suspended. It belongs to the well known class of Spartan hero-reliefs, but is of unusual type, for the hero is enthroned to the left as on the later examples,[1] but *alone*: no snake appears, nor are there any worshippers represented, but in their place we find a female figure standing opposite to the hero.

The hero *alone*, enthroned to the left, is found only on reliefs of the fourth century, while the juxtaposition of the standing female figure appears to be unique. We may however, compare for the type the late sixth century 'Spende' relief from Areopolis now in the Jacobsen collection.[2] From its style the Angelona relief, which resembles an early hero-relief at Geraki,[3] should be dated from the middle of the sixth century, but since the type is generally considered to point to a later date and the execution is rather rough and childish, it may well be a specimen of common local work of a later period.

The other relief, which is of far more developed style, cannot, so far as the type is concerned, be compared to any known relief. To represent the worshipper without the hero is very unusual, the invariable practice is to shew the worshipper standing in an attitude of adoration before the seated or standing[4] hero. The pose of the Angelona worshipper is almost exactly paralleled on the well known relief in the Museo Torlonia.[5]

In the treatment of the drapery, the firmness of line, and the bas-relief it resembles other reliefs all of Laconian provenance, and in the latter qualities recalls a Spartan relief now in Athens.[6] The wavy rendering of the drapery suggests the Jacobsen relief already referred to, and still more the Geraki stele[7] which Schröder assigns to an 'island' school, so connecting it with Furtwängler's 'Parian' school, to which the Olympia pediments are assigned. Schröder also compares the treatment of the hair of the Geraki stele with that on an anthropoid sarcophagus in Parian marble at Berlin.[8] However, all these Laconian reliefs are of local marble, and we now have a considerable number of

[1] *Sparta Museum Cat.* Introd. to Sculpture, § 4.
[2] *Ibid. loc. cit.* § 7.
[3] *Ibid. loc. cit.* § 4; Schröder, *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, p. 42.
[4] *E.g.* on the Attic relief in the Louvre, *Mon. Inst.* iv. Pl. 22 B.
[5] F. W. 1073; Roscher ii. p. 2559, Fig. 5, cf. also Fig. 1, p. 146.
[6] *Ibid.* § 4, 1; *E. V.* 1265; Nat. Mus. 1417, cf. a hero-relief at Sparta, *Mus. Cat.* 4.
[7] *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, p. 48, Pl. 3. See page 103 for a further discussion of this question.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 48; *Arch. Studien H. Brunn dargebr.* Pl. 2.

sculptures from Laconia dating from the late sixth or early fifth century,[1] so that it seems somewhat more probable that they are the work of local artists.

But what purpose was served by these various sculptures and vases? With what object were they dedicated? The hero-relief supplies the clue. These antiquities from Kollýri are in all probability the cult objects from a local heroon. Several heroa have been excavated, the Pelopium and another at Olympia,[2] the temenos of Theseus between the Long Walls, two on Mount Korydallos,[3] the temenos of Kychreus in Salamis,[4] and finally the famous heroon of Gjölbaschi.[5] They usually consist of an open temenos enclosed by a wall, with entrance from the west, and the enclosure within was divided into several compartments: it also contained a sacred grove, usually of olives, and the grave or cenotaph of the hero.[6] The Kollýri heroon was probably of this type. However, in spite of the squared blocks of poros lying near, we discovered no walls or foundations of walls. The poros blocks themselves perhaps served as the foundations of walls of unburnt brick, and some of the tiles scattered about may have roofed the building, as in the Heroon at Olympia. Within the enclosure, probably not large, formed by this wall stood the statue of the hero,[7] of which we possess the base and feet described above: the bronze snake also probably represents the hero.[8] On the wall, hung on two iron hooks (Fig. 6; 8, 9), was the terracotta relief; the marble one may have simply stood upright in the ground. From the wall again (or from the roof) were suspended the miniature canthari by strings passing either through their handles, or, in the case of the larger examples, through the holes in the handles. These canthari are clearly to be connected with the vase invariably held by the hero in the Spartan hero-reliefs. The cantharus on most of these reliefs differs, however, in

[1] v. p. 103.

[2] *Olympia*, ii. pp. 56, 105.

[3] Curtius-Kaupert, *Karten v. Attica* i. p. 37, ii. p. 12 (Milchhoefer).

[4] *Hist. u. phil. Aufsätze Curtius gewidm.* p. 8, Lolling.

[5] Benndorf, *Heroon v. Trysa.*

[6] v. Roscher ii. p. 2493 *seqq.* (Deneken). The extant heroa are of too elaborate a type to be of any use in comparison, *ib.* p. 2496.

[7] Cf. *Ἀθήναιον* v. p. 161. 23.

[8] The Greeks believed that in the process of decomposition the marrow of the spine turned into a snake (Plut. *Cleom.* 39; Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 389; Plin. x. 56, 86; Aelian, *Hist. An.* 1, 51; Servius, *Aen.* v. 95; Orig. *c. Cels.* 5. 203).

form from the existing votive canthari, it has generally large handles rising above the lips of the vase, though a tall and narrow form with low handles appears on the Spartan relief now in the Piraeus Museum.[1]

Other examples of miniature votive canthari have been found elsewhere in Laconia, at Geraki, at the Menelaeum [2] and the Amyclaeum (both of which were primarily heroa), at Chrysapha with the famous stele,[3] at the spot called Φοῦρνος, north of Sparta on the Megalopolis road,[4] and near Kosmas;[5] we can thus conclude with some certainty that such vases always indicate an heroon.[6] Their number and variety of fabric at Kollýri vouches for their intimate connection with the cult.

The small number and great variety of the terracotta figurines makes their exact purpose obscure, but although the majority of the cult objects are not later than the middle of the fifth century, the presence of the late examples makes it certain at least that this heroon was still frequented in the fourth, and possibly also in the third century B.C.

In default of inscriptions we are still ignorant of the name of the hero and of the settlement at Kollýri, it was most likely an unimportant hill-village dependant on Epidaurus Limera, but Pausanias gives us no clue.

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[1] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* Introd. to Sculpture § 3. M.

[2] *Ibid.* Introd. to Misc. Ant. § 4.

[3] *Ath. Mitth.* 1877, p. 303. 1: this relief was found standing upright, the place was undoubtedly a similar heroon. The inscription ΘΕΡΜΑΝΟΣ found near by probably gives the name of the hero.

[4] *Ath. Mitth.* 1877, p. 300; Loring, *J.H.S.* 1895, p. 43.

[5] A rough drawing of a vase from Geraki was at once recognised by the villagers of Kosmas.

[6] Vases were dedicated to heroes, cf. the Mycenae vase-fragment, Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitth.* 1876, p. 313; Roehl, *I.G.A.* 293.

LACONIA.

II.—GERAKI.

I.—EXCAVATIONS.

SOME experimental excavations were carried out at Geraki (the ancient Geronthrae) between May 26 and June 6 of 1905.

Geraki lies in the upland plain which includes practically the whole of east central Laconia extending from the left bank of the Eurotas to the foothills of Parnon: it is on the south and south-western slopes of one of these foothills—the ancient acropolis of Geronthrae, which we shall discuss later in detail—that the modern village is built.

The main incentive to excavation on the site of Geronthrae was the hope—unfortunately not yet fulfilled—of lighting upon some remains of the buildings mentioned by Pausanias[1] in his description of the place: his words are as follows:—

. . . ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς Γερόνθραις Ἄρεως ναὸς καὶ ἄλσος . . . περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀγοράν σφισιν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων εἰσὶν ὑδάτων. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἀγάλματος ἐλέφαντος πεποιημένη κεφαλή. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τοῦ ἀγάλματος πῦρ ἠφάνισεν ὁμοῦ τῷ προτέρῳ ναῷ.

We will discuss these buildings in the order given by Pausanias.

The temple of Ares has been conjecturally located at a spot called Μητρόπολις lying slightly south-east of the village and occupied by the ruins of a Byzantine church. This identification was backed not only by the continued religious associations of the site, but by the existence of

[1] iii. 22.

ancient worked marble blocks, including several Doric triglyphs, built into the neighbouring churches of SS. Nicholas and Sozon. The site was tested by excavation at the eastern end of the ruined church, but no traces of building below it were found,[1] and trial pits in the adjoining fields yielded no results, the bed-rock being found at less than a metre below the surface.

The supposed position of the temple of Ares led to a further assumption that the spring now most frequented by the villagers, *i.e.* that lying beneath the south-east corner of the acropolis hill, was Pausanias' πηγαὶ τῶν ποτίμων ὑδάτων and marked the site of the agora: this theory was

FIG. 1.—PELASGIAN WALL, SET-BACK ON LEFT, GATE ON RIGHT.

to a certain extent borne out by the numerous fragments of the Edict of Diocletian *de pretiis* built into the adjoining church of S. John Chrysostom. Pausanias, coming north from Acriae,[2] would thus visit the sites in the order given, first the Ares temple, then the agora with its springs and finally, after climbing the Acropolis, the temple of Apollo. But as the identification of the Metropolis site was not borne out by excavation,

[1] Two inscribed funeral stelae from the church are published below, pp. 105, 107.

[2] It is, however, doubtful whether Pausanias wrote from first-hand knowledge: v. Heberdey *Pausanias*, p. 59.

the claims of a second spring on the east of the acropolis hill have to be considered: this spring is universally considered to afford good water, and by some to be superior to the other. Moreover this side of the acropolis hill not only offers by far the the easiest ascent, but also contains the only distinguishable gateway in the Pelasgian *enceinte* (Fig. 1).

We may then fairly conjecture that the ancient Geronthrae lay on the east, not the south, of the acropolis: it is true that there are no corroborative signs of ancient buildings above ground, but this may be accounted

FIG. 2.—GATEWAY IN PELASGIAN WALL, TOWER FOUNDATIONS IN FOREGROUND.

for by the great depth of soil over the rock in this direction. Future excavation may settle the question.

The Acropolis is a low, bare, limestone hill with a flattish top roughly oval in shape, and measuring about 240 × 160 metres. Its highest ridge runs approximately north-west and south-east, and is marked by a noticeable outcrop of rock at its south-eastern end and a second of less elevation at the north-west. From this central ridge the ground slopes very gradually on the south-west side, falling at last quite suddenly over a steep cliff: the broad north-west end and the north-east side descend more gradually, the former to a neck of rock connect-

ing the acropolis with the surrounding hills, the latter by a succession of cultivated terraces to a fertile valley. The village climbs up a steep slope on both sides of the south-eastern spur.

The top of the acropolis hill is surrounded by a 'Pelasgian' wall which has been repaired in mediaeval times by Franks, Byzantines or Venetians. On the west and north-west, where it followed the line of the cliff, traces of any sort are scanty and very little of the original wall remains: on the north and east sides (*i.e.* those facing the saddle and the valley), it is well preserved, standing in some places to a height of

FIG. 3.—PELASGIAN WALL.

nearly two metres. About midway between the two peaks of the hill on the valley side there are traces of a gateway defended on the right of the entrance by a projecting tower, of which only foundations remain; it appears to be later in date than the wall itself (Fig. 2). A little further south is a characteristic set-back, and between these two points are some mediaeval repairs.

The construction of the wall is primitive; it is built of fairly large unworked stones, patched up here and there with smaller stones to help the joints (Fig. 3). The stones at the corner of the set-back are roughly

squared, while more care has been expended on those which form the foundation of the gate tower and on some others now lying on the hill-side which have evidently fallen thence; it is probable that this tower was rudely polygonal in construction. From its style the wall need not necessarily be prehistoric but from the early occupation of the site, as proved by the pottery found in the course of our excavations, it probably dates at least from the bronze age.

The main object of our trial pits and trenches was to see if there were any remains of the temple of Apollo mentioned by Pausanias.[1] We hoped to find this on the high ground just at the northern foot of the southern knob. Our attention was especially directed to this spot by a marble Doric capital which had been turned up by the plough and left on the surface, together with a squared marble block. Trustworthy local tradition records that several similar capitals, one of poros, were found here, also that about thirty years ago a large quantity of 'marble blocks' and 'slabs' were taken from here to build a narthex and a campanile for the principal church of the village (Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου). A series of trial pits begun at this spot was continued all over the acropolis and we found traces of human habitation everywhere, many rough walls of unshaped stones with and without mortar, and at the bottom of a hollow filled with stones, in the centre of the acropolis some few squared blocks came to light, but not in their original position. Briefly, no traces were found to justify us in going to the great expense of clearing any definite space. Near the spot where the temple was supposed to be, we found at a depth of ·30 m. a portion of the pavement, one slab of which bears a late inscription,[2] and a wall of a small chapel. Local tradition records that bastards were buried round this church, which the oldest inhabitants remember seeing in ruins; we certainly found a surprising quantity of human remains, but otherwise all over the acropolis finds of small objects were very unimportant.

Our principal finds on the acropolis may be tabulated thus :—

Bronzes.

Pin : length ·20. Its head is formed by a peculiar animal that is best described as a horned duck. A thick rough patina obscures detail.

[1] v. passage quoted above, cf. *C.I.G.* 1334, there is also other epigraphical evidence.

[2] See below, p. 105, No. 1.

Bow of fibula with three nodes, ·08 m. long.
Handle of miniature vase, bent upwards at tip: greatest length ·032 m.

Iron.

Four fragments of spits (?), square in section, largest ·31 m., about ·008 m thick.
Bolt with round head, ·004 m. in diam., shank broken, about ·006 m. thick.
Arrow head, lozenge section, length 0·4 m.

Terracotta Figurines.

Three specimens of a rude early type. They have shapeless columnar bodies, and the arms were extended horizontally: heads broken off. Height ·06 m.

Inscriptions.

Two Greek, one Byzantine.[1]

Stone Implements.

Obsidian: seven flakes, three chips and one arrowhead.
Nine spherical stone polishers.
Six hammer stones.
Two crooked finger-shaped polishers.

Bone Implements, etc.

Pin: oblong, slightly expanding top, broken and worked to point.
Finger ring, diam ·027 m., opening ·017 m.
Boar's tusk and three goats' horns.

Clay Implements.

Two whorls of flat conoid shape.
Four whorls of tall conoid shape.
Two spools, cylinder expanding at top and bottom.
Loom-weights, twenty pyramidal, four conical, one inscribed A, Γ, A on three sides and on bottom Λ.
Button-shaped polisher.

Pottery.

Many fragments of hand-made and hand-polished 'neolithic' ware.
Two fragments of pre-Mycenaean hand-made ware, matt paint in horizontal bands joined by three oblique lines and triangles.
Fragment from rim of small cup, white paint on dull black slip.
Fourteen post-Mycenaean fragments.
Two fragments of red figured ware.
Black glazed ware with white spots.

[1] See below pp. 105, 108, 111.

Ribbed black glazed ware.
Two miniature canthari, one minia urebowl with ring foot.
Two fragments of Hellenistic plates with stars of five and six anthemions stamped in centre.
Fragment of a 'Megarian' bowl.
Lips of three Roman lamps, one shews a satyr head.
Fragment of 'Samian' ware.
Yellowish white vases (two) decorated in black round neck and top of body.
Askos of coarse clay and late fabric.
Several big jars (stamnoi) of very coarse clay and bad fabric.

These objects are of little value, but they possess some small importance as shewing that the site has been inhabited from the earliest times till to-day. Of the stone implements, those of obsidian are probably not later than the bronze age, the hammer stones and spherical polishers or pounders may be of any date, the finger-shaped polishers are probably of the Hellenistic period, since similar polishers have been found at Delos and Pergamon. To the neolithic period probably belong the fragments of coarse hand-made and polished pottery; the ware is thick and of coarse but fairly well cleaned clay, the average colour being a brownish grey. Some fragments are not hand-polished, a fragment of the top of a vase with a suspension hole and a ridge inside its edge to support a lid, is apparently wheel made; two pieces have small flat oval-shaped handles and another is decorated with bands of vertical and horizontal incised lines. To the period immediately succeeding this belong the three rude terracotta figurines; somewhat similar figurines were found at Phylakopi,[1] and are believed to be older than the usual Mycenaean type; one specimen of the same type from the Amyclaeum is in the Sparta Museum.[2] Characteristic of the same period are the expanding spools; they also resemble some from Phylakopi[3] and Troy.

The other vase fragments mentioned and the numerous pieces of common black glazed ware found are evidence for the occupation of the site during the classical period. The two miniature vases,[4] in connexion with which it must be remarked that local tradition recalls the finding of similar vases below the north-west corner of the hill, are evidence for the existence of some small shrine on the acropolis. The fragments of 'Hellenistic' plates recall some of the small finds from Pergamon.[5] The

[1] *Phylakopi*, Pl. XXXIX. 20.
[2] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* 794. A. 1.
[3] *Ob. it.* Pl. XL. 36, p. 213, cf. Dörpfeld, *Troja u. Ilion*, Fig. 394.
[4] v. above, p. 90.
[5] Conze, *Kleinfunde aus P.* Pl. 3.

'Megarian' bowl which resembles numerous examples from Delos and Pergamon, also belongs to the 'Hellenistic' period.

We are informed by Mr. Bosanquet that the peculiar black on yellow ware is Mycenaean with local peculiarities: this pottery is therefore of considerable importance. The bronze pin must also be Mycenaean since it was found with one of these vases and another vase of coarse red clay, in a grave built of slabs. We found three similar graves in different parts of the acropolis, one that of a child, but they contained only human bones.

Of the temple of Apollo, the main objective of our trial pits and trenches, we found as has already been stated, no trace. However, in the

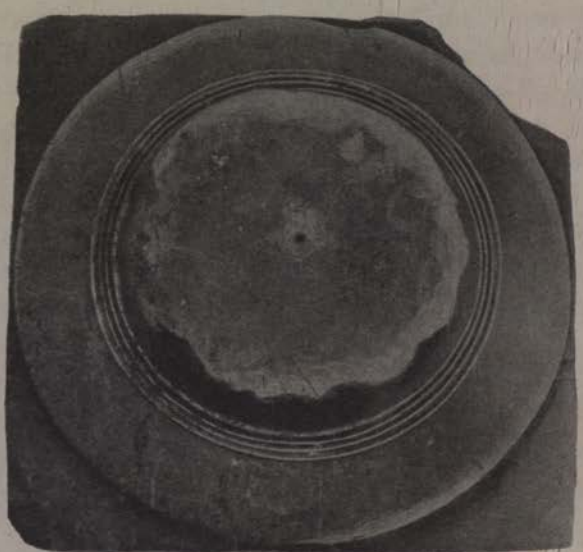

FIG. 4.—MARBLE CAPITAL.

wall of a field on the east slope of the acropolis not far below the gate in the Pelasgian wall, we discovered two fragments of a Doric capital in *poros*. About one-third of the capital seems to have been cut away; we must assume that it belonged to the first temple which Pausanias says was burnt: it was perhaps used in building the foundations of the second temple which, judging by the other Doric capital already referred to, was of marble. The shapes of these two capitals are of some interest:

A. The poros capital is ·19 m. high, the abacus ·55 m. square and ·085 m. high, the echinus, which is very flat, is ·105 m. high and ·13 m. long; the necking is ·035 m. long. The capital fitted a column of which the diameter at the top was ·32 m.

B. The marble capital has an abacus ·60 m. and ·09 m. high, the echinus is flat and is ·12 m. long, and ·08 m. high; the necking is ·03 m. long. Below the necking is a bare unfluted shaft measuring .32 m. in diameter and 1·07 m. in circumference (Fig. 4).

The similarity between these capitals is remarkable, and we are at a loss to date them. Pausanias gives us to understand that the cult statue in the first temple was of gold and ivory, which points to a date not later than the fifth century; as this statue was burnt with the first temple, the building of the second can hardly be much later than the early fourth century. The flatness of the echinus may be due to a direct imitation of the earlier capitals, or to the survival in Laconia of an early shape. The poros capital may date from the sixth or late seventh century.

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F. W. HASLUCK.

2.—SCULPTURES.

The sculptures here described and discussed have all been found at Geraki during the last few years, and owe their preservation to the energy of M. G. Papanikolaou the Demarch of Geronthrae, to whom is due the fact that they still are to be seen in the town where they were found. It is to be hoped that before long the Greek Ministry of Education will allow the formation of a small local museum to contain these and the many inscriptions and other monuments at present in Geraki.

A.—*Archaic Female Statue: Fragment of Torso only* (Figs. 1, 2).

This interesting but much damaged torso was found at Geraki last winter during repairs to the church of the Evangelismos. It is of coarse-grained white local marble, and is ·24 m. high, and shews the upper part of the torso of a youthful female statue from the neck to a little below the breasts. It is clad in a fine, but tight and closely clinging plain chiton which passes over the right and under the left shoulder, thus leaving the left breast bare. The folds of the chiton are rendered with dry precise formalism, the lines are very straight and the edges between

them very square. At the back the hair, which curves away to the left shoulder in a solid rounded, but flat, mass, is rendered by broad parallel horizontal grooves. The figure was probably in motion to the right, since the hair inclines towards the left and the folds of the plain chiton also curve in the same direction. The position also of the muscles of the left shoulder seems to point to the fact that the arm was raised, or at least held out horizontally.

The execution is throughout good: it is fresh and direct in character, but shews also the orderly detail of archaic art. The rendering of the nude seems to be more advanced than that of the drapery; the surface under the arm, where it is fairly well preserved, shews in its modulations a feeling for the living texture surprising in so early sculpture. The dress is remarkable but unfortunately so little is preserved that it is difficult to guess its scheme: it may have been a himation half-folded over, such as is worn by the archaic female statues from the

FIG. 1 Front).

FIG. 2 (Back).

ARCHAIC FEMALE STATUE.

Acropolis and Delos;[1] in that case we miss the decoration of the edge of the fold: or it may have been—and this is more probable—a simple short Doric chiton such as is worn by the running girl of the Vatican,[2] though she is girt just below the breasts with a broad girdle, while if the Geraki figure was girt at all it was at the waist. Again the Vatican figure has the right breast bare, the Geraki fragment the left, otherwise there is some likeness between the two in type but not in style. Had the Geraki fragment the right shoulder bared,[3] one would be tempted to say that it was an older version of the same subject; as it is, however, it is impossible to say what the fragment represents.

In style again, especially as regards the rendering of the hair, this torso stands almost alone. There is, however, a Nike in the Acropolis Museum,[4] whose hair is treated in exactly the same fashion and inclines to the left while the figure moves to the right: it too, though of the traditional archaic type, shews new influences in the costume; the drapery, however, is related neither in scheme nor rendering to the Geraki fragment; its style is more developed and it is handled in a more

[1] v. Perrot-Chipiez, vol. viii. Figs. 128, 130, 289–302.

[2] Galleria dei Candelabri, 222; Helbig², 384; Friederichs-Wolters, 213; Baumeister, Fig. 2362.

[3] v. Paus. v. 16. 2. For the arrangement of the chiton, cf. the female statue in the Acropolis Museum, *Mus. d'Athènes*, Pl. 14.

[4] No. 694. Brunn-Bruckmann, 526; Lechat, *Sculpture Attique avant Phidias*, p. 369.

free and loose manner, while the Geraki torso preserves the careful simplicity of the archaic style. Still it is remarkable that Lechat[1] classes this Nike with other Attic sculptures which he considers shew a Dorian influence. This influence he associates with the names of Hegeladas, Calon, and Onatas, and of Gorgias of Laconia,[2] who was active at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century. From stylistic reasons and from the style of development it shews, the Geraki torso is to be assigned to the later sixth century, and since there is no doubt that it is an original of Laconian provenance, we may not unreasonably assume that it represents the Laconian style of the time of Gorgias.

B.—*Archaic Votive Relief* (Fig. 3).

The next most important of these sculptures is an archaic votive stele decorated with relief. It was found on the north side of the acropolis, is ·30 m. high

FIG. 3.—ARCHAIC VOTIVE RELIEF.

and ·19 m. wide, of bluish white local marble; the relief field is surrounded by a plain border ·02 m. wide; the back is roughly rounded and much thicker

[1] *Op. cit. loc. cit.*

[2] Lolling, *Inscr. Acrop.* p. 43, 35–38; Loewy, *I.G.B.* 36.

towards the bottom. In the field in profile to the left stands a young male figure of a rather Apolline type: he is clad only in a chlamys thrown over the shoulders with the loose ends hanging down in front over the arms; the head is slightly inclined forward, the right leg a little advanced, but the figure stands evenly on both feet. The right arm is stretched out forward horizontally; something was held in the hand, but what this was is not clear, as the corner is broken off. The left arm is bent and the hand rests by the waist; it also apparently held something, perhaps a kerykeion. The figure is slender and shews little anatomical detail, but the surface is much weathered: the chest is broad, the waist small, and the legs long and shapeless; the arms and chest are the best part of the torso. The head is rather large, the eye *en face*, the nose big and prominent, the lips thick, and the chin receding. The folds on the edge of the chlamys are simply rendered by zigzags, but have not the stiff, mechanical appearance of archaistic art.

In type this relief seems to stand alone, for apparently no similar figure is yet known. In style it belongs to the same school as the preceding torso, but is of a slightly earlier date.

C.—*Female Head* (Figs. 4, 5).

This is, most unfortunately, only a fragment, giving the right ear, the top and the back of the head: it is ·17 m. high, and of local white marble. The hair runs

FIG. 4.

FIG. 5.

FEMALE HEAD.

from the centre of the crown evenly down over the head in smooth, grained strands; at the back it becomes a little curly where it hangs over the neck. In the centre of the crown is a small round hole and at equal distances round the edge of the hair are three other similar holes: the one on the top of the head was doubtless intended, like those in the heads of some of the archaic female statues found on the acropolis at Athens, for a μηνίσκος to protect the statue from birds;[1] the

[1] Collignon, *Hist. Sculpt. Grecque*, i. p. 350, Pl. I.; Aristophanes, *Aves* 1114.

holes round the edge of the hair were perhaps intended for fastening on a bronze wreath or stephané. From the treatment of the hair this head belongs to the same group as the Petersburg Eros,[1] and is yet another argument for attributing that group to a Peloponnesian, perhaps a Laconian school.[2] The hair also resembles that of the running girl in the Vatican mentioned above.

D.—*Votive* (?) *Relief.*

This is ·19 m. wide and ·27 m. high, and shews a female figure seated on a rock in three-quarter profile to the left. She is clad in a simple high-girt chiton with a himation wrapped round her waist and legs: her left hand rests on the rock at her side, the right hand holds up a palm-leaf fan by her face. The hair seems to have been drawn backwards to a knob behind, but all details of this and the face are lost. It is simple and natural but effective work of the third century B.C.: the folds of the drapery are well understood and arranged, but are not complicated, the attitude is natural, if not artistically pleasing. On the right is inscribed in two vertical lines reading up from the bottom ΧΟΡΗΒΙΣ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΑΙ.[3] From the form of the A we should assign the relief to the second century B.C., but it is perhaps admissible on stylistic grounds to place it in the later third century.

These sculptures, when considered together with another relief from Geraki already published,[4] (Fig. 6), seem to be sufficient evidence for believing in the existence of a local school of sculpture in Laconia, at least from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century B.C. Schröder in publishing this last relief connects it with an island school and so with Furtwängler's Parian school,[5] which is supposed to have produced the Olympia pediments: but even if it be admitted that this latter hypothesis is correct, there is little evidence for believing in the influence of an island school in Laconia, for all these sculptures are in local marble and taken together cover a period of about one hundred years. Further, the nearest parallel in style to the stele published by Schröder is to be found not in Paros where no sculpture of this style has yet been discovered, nor in any Aegaean island, but in the recently discovered relief from Angelona.[6] Again the female head (C) has great similarity to another group of sculptures also connected with Laconia, the Petersburg Eros

[1] Flasch, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, Pl. 16; cf. the Spinario, Helbig², i. 637, and a bronze at Berlin, *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 33.

[2] Tod-Wace, *Sparta Mus. Cat.* Introd. to Sculpt. § 15.

[3] Ἐλευσία is the Laconian name for Demeter, v. Collitz Bechtel 4431; to the references there given add Dittenberger *Syll.*² 252; Michel, *Recueil*, 1073; Wide, *Lak. Kulte* pp. 171, 175, 198.

[4] Schröder, *Ath. Mitth.* 1904, pp. 47 *seqq.*

[5] *Arch. Studien, H. Brunn dargebracht*, pp. 69 *seqq.*

[6] v. Pl. III.

and others related to it, and it is remarkable that the one monument which resembles the female torso (A) in style, has been declared by Lechat[1] to shew Dorian influence and is associated by him with the name of Gorgias of Laconia. The Melian terracotta reliefs[2] to which Schröder has compared the stele, and to which the votive relief (B) might also be compared, have in reality but little stylistic likeness.

FIG. 6.—RELIEF FROM GERAKI.

As far as we can tell from our knowledge of Greek art in the Peloponnesus, these Geraki sculptures and the Angelona relief seem to stand very much by themselves, but at the same time they shew a certain amount of Attic influence in the handling of the drapery (*cf.* the female

[1] *Op. cit. loc. cit.*

[2] *E.g.* Schoene, *Gr. Rel.* 135, Pl. 35; *Mon. Inst.* vi. vii. Pl. 57; Welcker, *Alt. Denk.* ii. Pl. 12, 10; Rayet, *Mon. Art. ant.* Pl. 74.

torso (A)), and the long slender forms (*cf.* the votive relief (B) and the stele published by Schröder). In the latter the length of the left foot and the elaborate handling of the drapery appear to betray an artist who was not completely master of his material, so on the whole it probably would not be wrong to conclude that these sculptures are the products of a local school working in Laconia during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

ALAN J. B. WACE

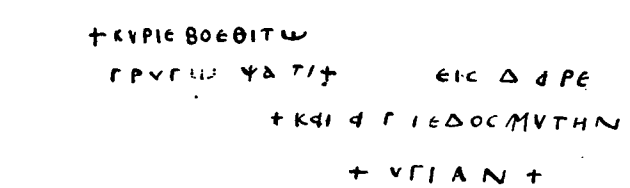
3.—INSCRIPTIONS.

THE following inscriptions were found during the excavations of the School at Geráki in May and June 1905, or are hitherto unpublished inscriptions from the churches in the same town.

Mr. M. N. Tod has most kindly read the proofs and made very many valuable suggestions.

1. Found in ruined church on the acropolis. On slab of pavement, now in the court of the Church Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου.

The letters are about a centimetre high, very carelessly cut and unevenly placed.

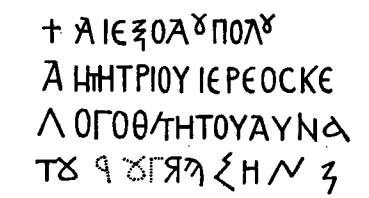


There seem to be two distinct inscriptions. The first seems to read Κυριε Βοεθι[1] τω Γρυγω ψα τι, which is possibly for Κύριε βοήθει τῷ Γρηγορίῳ [α] ψάλτῃ,[2] though the reading ψάλτῃ is very doubtful. The other reads εἰσδορε (?) καὶ ἅγιε δὸς ἐμου (?) τὴν ὑγιείαν. What εἰσδορε stands for is extremely doubtful. Perhaps it is for εἰσ(ι)δ(ω)ρε.

[1] Cf. Millet, etc., *Inscr. Chrét. du Mont Athos*, p. 27, No. 26.

[2] This reading, if right, would stand for πρωτοψάλτῃ, cf. *C.I.G.* 9283, 9386, 9406.

2. In the Demarch's House at Geráki. Slab of local bluish marble Inscribed face ·30 × ·15 m. Letters ·03 m. high.



Δι' ἐξόδου πολ(λ)οῦ
Δημητρίου ἱερέος καὶ
λογοθ(έ)τη τοῦ δυνα[σ]
τοῦ . . . . . .

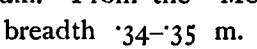
In the last line the presence of the *Sampi* must indicate a date. If the last line could be read (ἔτους) ϛ,ϡξη . . , the date would be 6968 = 1460 A.D., but as the neighbouring letters are unintelligible this reading is rather doubtful.

3. In a ruined church about 150 yards north of the road from Gortsà to Geráki, a marble block inscribed with letters ·03 m. high.

The inscribed face is broken on the left but is complete on the right. It is ·50 m. long, and ·25 high: the breadth is ·50 m.

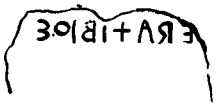
This is clearly an artist-inscription from a statue base; for the form *ἐπόησε* in similar late inscriptions cf. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen* 2217, 2255.

4. Geráki. From the 'Metropolis.' Stele, slightly tapering to top. Ht. 60 m., breadth ·34–·35 m. Letters ·02 m. high. From copy and squeeze.

 Πειθιδᾶμ[ος].

The stone seems to have been wilfully defaced, and only the first four letters are at all clear on the squeeze. The lettering is neat. The occurrence of ⊕ and D with the later form A in the same inscription suggests the first half of the fifth century as a possible date. The same conjunction of letters occurs in Roehl, *I.G.A.* 72. The retention of Θ instead of a change to Σ would shew that the inscription belongs to a Perioecus, not a Spartan (cf. Meister, *Dorer und Achäer*, p. 34).

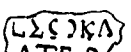
5. From the same place. Stele, Ht. ·38 m., breadth ·19–·28 m. Letters ·02 m. high. From copy and squeeze.



Ἐραξίβιος

The letters are bold and deeply cut. The name does not seem to be known elsewhere. It might conceivably be a mistake for Πραξίβιος, though there is no doubt about the reading. Though the inscription is written from the right, the use of the later forms Ε, Α, and Σ hardly allows it to be placed earlier than the beginning of the fifth century.

6. From the same place. Small fragment, broken all round. From copy only.



[χαῖρ]ε Σωκλ[είδα] | [π]άτερ.

This grave-inscription, from the style of writing, might belong to the first or second century A.D. Σωκλείδας is a fairly common name in Laconia: it occurs in Le Bas-Foucart 173A (Σωκλείδας Κ[λε]ωνύμου) and in Collitz-Bechtel, 4453, 4454, 4488.

7. Near the 'Metropolis.' A small fragment, perhaps of a base. From copy.

This can hardly be filled up: perhaps [- - - - - - χ]αῖ[ρε].

8. In the Church Evangelistria. Step of *bema* ·63. × ·30 m. Letters ·05 m. high. From copy.

ΓΧΑΙΡΕ [- - - - - ς] χαῖρε.

9. From the Church Ἅγιος Σώστης or Σώζων.

On top of a Byzantine cap: the top is oval and measures ·65 × ·42 m. The height of the cap is ·26 m. and it is ·28 m. square at the bottom. The cap is worked in a narrow pointed leaf-pattern. It was originally part of a large stele. Here from copy only.

ΣΑΛΙΣΚΑ
ΙΕΡΑΧΑΙΡΕ

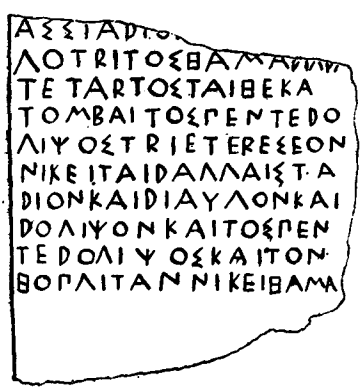
Σάλισκα ἱερά. χαῖρε.

The name *Σάλισκα* seems to be new. The inscription is paralleled by Collitz-Bechtel, 4580, *Σοφιδοῖ ἰαρὰ, χαῖρε*; and the meaning of the title *ἱερά* is illustrated by the long inscription from Andania (Collitz-Bechtel, No. 4689) and by a Messenian inscription published in *J.H.S.* vol. xxv. pp. 49 ff. (No. 10). The masculine *ἱερός* occurs in Collitz-Bechtel, No. 4668 (in the archaic form *hιαρός*).

It appears that the *ἱεραί* and *ἱεροί* were officials chosen by lot from the initiated, and charged with certain functions at the mysteries of Demeter and Core. The Andania inscription gives the oath taken by the *ἱεραί* and *ἱεροί*. In the Messenian document, the *ἱεραί* are directed to help the lady-president (Thoenarmostria) in punishing offenders against the rules of a Demeter-festival.

The office lasted one year, but the title was borne through life. It was a special privilege of the *ἱεροί* and *ἱεραί* that their names might appear on their graves. This point is mentioned by Plutarch, *Lycurgus* c. 27, but he makes a mistake in restricting the privilege to women *ἱεραί* and to fallen warriors. For, as the inscription, Collitz-Bechtel, No. 4668, shews, a male *ἱερός* shared the same right (compare notes *ad loc.*).

10. From the acropolis. Broken slab of local bluish marble. The left edge is undamaged, and the end of the inscription is preserved. Inscribed face ·18 × ·24 m. Height of letters ·015 m. Space between lines ·01 m.



[*νικάς-*
ας σ[*τ*]*άδι*[*ον καὶ δίαυ*
λο(*ν*) *τρίτος ἀμᾶ δ*[*ίαυλον*
τέταρτος τᾶι ἑκα-
τόμβαι τὼς πέντε δο-
λίχως τριετήρης ἐὼν 5
νικῆι τᾶι δ' ἄλλαι στά-
διον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ
δόλιχον καὶ τὼς πέν-
τε δολίχως καὶ τὸν
ὁπλίταν νικῆι ἀμᾶ. 10

The inscription no doubt belongs to a votive offering set up in the temple of Apollo by a victorious athlete. The portion preserved gives part of the list of his triumphs.

The following translation is suggested. (The Victor made this offering) . . . 'having won at the same festival the stadium and the diaulos for the third time, the diaulos for the fourth time, (and) at the (festival) Hecatombe he wins the five-length race, being then of three years' standing, and at the other (festival) he wins the stadium, the diaulos, the long race, the five-length race and the armed race on the same occasion.'

The inscription bears some likeness to the well-known Damonon inscription, Roehl, *I.G.A.* 79. Unhappily the latter does not help in the restoration of the present stone.

The restoration at the beginning is justified by the parallel phrase in lines 6, 7. The omission of *ν* in line 2 seems to be a mistake of the mason, for the accusative case is clearly needed by the construction. The letters at the end of line 2 are much crowded : hence the word *δίαυλον* may be safely restored. In line 5 the second Ε in ΤΡΙΕΤΕΡΕΣ is rather faint, but there is no doubt about the reading.

The meaning of the letters ΤΡΙΕΤΕΡΕΣΕΟΝ is very uncertain. On the whole the rendering given above seems the most likely one. But the letters might possibly form one word, perhaps a participle with some such sense as 'attending a triennial festival.'[1] In this case it would be like the *αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίων* in the Damonon inscription. The word would also prove the keeping of Σ between two vowels and the retention of -ε- before -ω. These are two of the canons given by Meister, *Dorer und Achäer* (pp. 7, 41), for distinguishing between Spartan inscriptions and those of Perioeci. Our inscription would fall into the latter class, and therefore the restoration of *νικάσας* before line 1, and not *νικάhας* would be certain. But with the meaning of *τριετερέσεον* so doubtful the Spartan or Perioecan authorship of the inscription can only be conjectured.

Ἑκατόμβαι in lines 3, 4 can hardly refer to anything but a festival of Apollo Hecatombaios. There was a month Ἑκατομβεύς at Sparta ; and a feast of Ἑκατόμβοια is mentioned in *I.G.* ii. (=*C.I.A.* ii.) 1367. This inscription is a dedication by Nicocles for various victories in competitions on the cithara. The Ἑκατόμβοια occur between [Ἡλ]*ίεια* and Ἴσθμια and would therefore seem to have been a Peloponnesian Festival.

[1] In a Pergamene inscription the expression *τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην τριετηρίδων* occurs. This word evidently denotes some kind of triennial festival, and might thus supply a parallel to support this second interpretation. But this again is very uncertain. Cf. Fränkel, *Inschr. von Perg.* i. 167 ; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 304, l. 17.

Strabo[1] tells of a sacrifice called Ἑκατόμβαια, which was held every year by the small Spartan towns.[2] It is therefore quite conceivable that the Ἑκατόμβα on our stone, the Attic Ἑκατόμβοια and Strabo's ἑκατόμβαια all refer to the same festival—a local meeting in Laconia with sacrifices and contests. This of course is merely a conjecture.

The races won by the dedicator of the present inscriptions are the στάδιον, δίαυλος, δόλιχος, πέντε δόλιχοι and ὁπλίτας.

The Stadium was 606¾ feet; the Diaulos, or double course, 1213½ feet. The δόλιχος or long race is said by Tzetzes (Schol. Aristophanes *Clouds* 28) to have been 20 stades or 4945 yards. But the length of the δόλιχος did not remain fixed; indeed at various times it seems to have ranged from 7 to 24 stades, perhaps increasing with the improvements in training and the growing severity of professional competition.[3]

The πέντε δόλιχοι, a race hitherto unknown, must have been five times as long as the δόλιχος, and was therefore between four and fourteen miles. But most likely at the early date of our inscription the distance would have been nearer the shorter limit than the longer. The ὁπλίτας or race run in armour is already known. The full form was ὁπλίτας δρόμος used in Pindar (*Isth.* i. 32). In *C.I.G.* 1591, 55, ὁπλίτης is used alone as a race along with στάδιον, δίαυλον, πυγμήν, παγκράτιον and πάλην. The length of the race was as a rule that of the double course (δίαυλος), and the event is sometimes shown on vase paintings. From these it seems that the runners did not wear full harness, but only their helmets and shields.[4]

As to the possible date of the inscription it must be noted that the archaic form of Α which occurs along with Α on the brazen serpent (*I.G.A.* 70) is now no longer used; on the other hand the form Ρ instead of Ϸ has not yet come in. This proves our inscription to have been earlier than the Damonon-stone, where Ρ is the only form. We may therefore place our inscription after B.C. 479. The Damonon-inscription is supposed to belong to the period about B.C. 464 or later;[5] and our stone

[1] c. 362.

[2] Strabo himself derives the name ἑκατόμβαια from the fact that there were originally a hundred of these small towns called together ἑκατόμπολις; *ibid.*

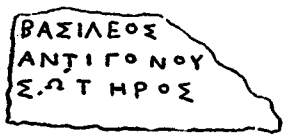
[3] *v.* Suidas, *s.nn.*; and also schol. ad Aristoph. *Av.* 292 and Soph. *Elect.* 687. Compare the article by Jüthner in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Dolichos.

[4] Cf. the B.-F. vase illustrated in *Mon. Inst.* x. 48 *e*, 3, and Baumeister, pp. 2111 *seqq.*

[5] Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, i. pp. 269, 70.

would therefore belong to the second quarter of the fifth century. The other crucial letters Γ and Θ do not occur in the present case. So that a more exact dating is hardly possible.

11. From the Acropolis. Piece of statue base: bluish local marble: length, ·13 m., height ·16 m. Height of letters ·02 m., but o and Ω about ·01 m.: space of about 0·1 m. between lines.



Fine lettering somewhat unevenly spaced. The straight strokes are slightly thickened at the tips. The arms of the Σ are bent outwards a little.

Βασιλέος
Ἀντιγόνου
Σωτῆρος.

This simple inscription is of considerable historical importance. It must be considered together with another inscription found at Mantinea.[1]

ΙΛΕΩΣΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΩΤΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ

This is rightly restored by the editor as [*βασιλέα* Ἀντίγονον | *βασ*]*ιλέως* | *Δημητρίου* | [Σ]*ωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.*

Both inscriptions undoubtedly refer to Antigonus Doson. He ruled in Macedonia from 229 to 221 B.C., first as guardian of Philip the young son of Demetrius II., and afterwards as king. In the second campaign of his war for the Achaean league against Cleomenes he took and sacked Mantinea (B.C. 223). The town was handed over to the Achaeans, and by them refounded and named Antigoneia on the motion of Aratus.[2] This name lasted until the reign of Hadrian.[3] In the third campaign Antigonus finally defeated Cleomenes at Sellasia (222 B.C.), Cleomenes fled, and

[1] Fougères, *B.C.H.* 1896, p. 135.

[2] Plutarch, *Arat.* c. 45, where it is stated that the name Antigoneia was current in Plutarch's own time.

[3] An inscription of the reign of Titus still uses the name Ἀντιγόνεια, Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie Orientale*, p. 529. Hadrian restored the old name, Pausanias viii. 8. 12; Fougères, *op. cit.* p. 514.

Antigonus became master of Sparta.[1] The reforms of Cleomenes were overthrown,[2] and the old constitution brought back, though perhaps the kingship[3] was abolished: and Sparta was forced to join the Achaean League.[4] The change was welcome to the oligarchic party, which had chafed under the rule of Cleomenes. It was by this mild policy of conciliation that Antigonus won the goodwill of the Laconians and so gained such honours as our inscription records.

Antigonus was soon recalled to Macedonia by an inroad of the Dardanians. He met and routed them, but died soon after his victory.

His acts at Sparta did not long outlast his death. Early in 219 the Aetolian party in the city slew the Ephors; Sparta joined the Aetolian league and declared war on the Achaeans.

The generous dealing of Antigonus made an immediate and lasting impression in Southern Greece, as the following passage in Polyb. v. 9 clearly shows: after mentioning the reforms already detailed in Book ii. he says: *τοιγαροῦν οὐ μόνον ἐκρίθη παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν εὐεργέτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταλλάξας σωτὴρ, οὐδὲ παρὰ μόνοις τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τέτευχε τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις.*[5]

This passage explains our inscription, and states that Antigonus was called *εὐεργέτης* in his life-time, but Soter after his death. Our inscription is therefore later than 221. Again, it is very unlikely that a statue would be set up to Antigonus in Laconia, when his settlement of Laconian affairs had been violently overthrown. Hence we may place our inscription before 219, when Sparta joined the Aetolian League.[6]

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

In connection with the inscription from Geraki (No. 11) published above, and the parallel inscription from Mantinea, it seems worth while to

[1] Plut. *Arat.* c. 46 init.; *Cleom.* cc. 28–30; Polyb. iv. 34 ff.; cf. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* iii. 2, pp. 147–155; Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* iii. 1, p. 743; Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. Staaten* ii. pp. 332 ff.

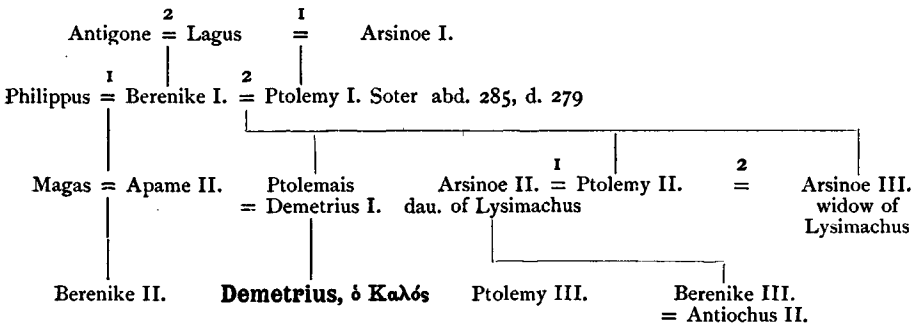
[2] Polyb. ii. 70 § 1. [3] So Beloch, *l.c.*, supposes.

[4] Polyb. iv. 24 § 6, where the league is called *κοινὴ συμμαχία*, Antigonus reckoning himself one of the *σύμμαχοι*.

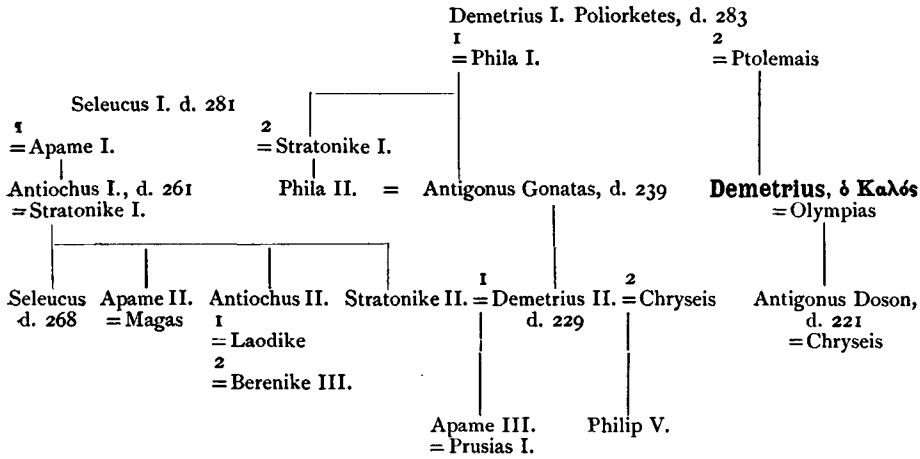
[5] Compare also Polybius iv. 34–36, and especially ix. 36 § 3, where in Lyciscus' speech to the Spartans on behalf of Macedonia (B.C. 107) the following words occur:—(*Ἀντίγονος*) *ἐκβαλὼν τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ πάτριον ὑμῖν ἀποκατέστησε πολίτευμα, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρισι μάρτυρας ποιησάμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργέτην ἑαυτῶν καὶ σωτῆρα τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀνεκηρύξατε.* [6] Cf. Niese, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 425 ff.

discuss two obscure points. (1) The history of Demetrius the Fair, the father of Antigonus Doson. (2) The worship of the earlier Diadochi. The following genealogical tables are necessary to explain the complicated family relationships.

I.—*Ptolemaic House.*



II.—*Seleucid and Antigonid Houses.*



§ 1.—THE HISTORY OF DEMETRIUS THE FAIR.

Demetrius was the son of Demetrius Poliorketes by Ptolemais daughter of Ptolemy I. The marriage of his parents resulted from the peace made about 296–5 between Demetrius and Ptolemy. Demetrius Poliorketes was at that time master of Cilicia and had a strong fleet, and

he and Ptolemy had been carrying on war round Cyprus and the adjoining coasts[1] for about two years. We may assume then that Demetrius the Fair was born about 295–4. He is mentioned by Justinus and Eusebius, but as both these authors confuse him with his nephew Demetrius II., there are various difficulties concerning his history.[2] The principal passages referring to him are here quoted for convenience of reference.

Justinus xxvi. 2, 3 :—

Antigonus . . . bellum Atheniensibus infert. In quo cum occupatus esset, interim Alexander, rex Epiri . . . fines Macedoniae depopulatur. Adversus quem cum reversus a Graecia Antigonus esset, transitione militum destitutus regnum Macedoniae cum exercitu amittit. Huius filius Demetrius puer admodum, absente patre reparato exercitu non solum amissam Macedoniam recipit, verum etiam Epiri regno Alexandrum spoliat. . . . Per idem tempus rex Cyrenarum Magas decedit, qui ante infirmitatem Berenicen, unicam filiam, ad finienda cum Ptolemeo fratre certamina filio eius desponderat. Sed post mortem regis mater virginis Arsinoe[3] ut invita se contractum matrimonium solveretur, misit qui ad nuptias virginis regnumque Cyrenarum Demetrium, fratrem regis Antigoni a Macedonia arcesserent, qui et ipse ex filia Ptolemei procreatus erat. Sed nec Demetrius moram fecit. Itaque cum secundante vento celeriter Cyrenas advolasset, fiducia pulchritudinis, qua nimis placere socrui coeperat, statim a principio superbus regiae familiae militibusque impotens erat studiumque placendi a virgine in matrem contulerat. Quae res suspecta primo virgini, dein popularibus militibusque invisa fuit. Itaque versis omnium animis in Ptolemei filium insidiae Demetrio comparantur, cui cum in lectum socrus concessisset, percussores inmittuntur. Sed Arsinoe audita voce filiae ad fores stantis et praecipientis ut matri parceretur, adulterum paulisper corpore suo protexit. Quo interfecto Berenice et stupra matris salva pietate ulta est et in matrimonio sortiendo indicium patris secuta.

Eusebius i. 237 :—

Cui filius ejus Demetrius successit, qui etiam universam Libyam cepit et Cyrenem obtinuit; quaeque erant patris cuncta recuperans ei in monarchicam potestatem redegit, dominatusque est annis x.

[1] Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellen.* ii.[2] p. 243; Niese, *Gesch. d. gr. u. mak. Staaten*, i. p. 355.

[2] *v.* Beloch, *op. cit.* iii. 2, pp. 133 *seqq.*; cf. von Prott, *Rhein. Museum*, liii. p. 470.

[3] Justinus with his usual carelessness writes Arsinoe instead of Apame.

Idem, i. 243 :—

Obiit etiam Demetrius cognomento Pulcher anno c. tricesimae Olympiadis secundo. Regnum deinceps ad Philippum pervenit. . . .

Anon. apud Scal., p. 62 :—

ὃν διαδέχεται υἱὸς Δημήτριος ὃς καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Λιβύην ἔλαβε Κυρήνης τε ἐκράτησε καὶ κατέσχεν ἐτῶν δέκα.

Trogus, *Prol.* xxvi. :—

Ut in Syria rex Antiochus cognomine Soter . . . decesserit. Ut in Asia filius Ptolemaei regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre. Ut frater Antigoni Demetrius occupato Cyrenis regno interiit. Ut mortuo rege Antiocho filius eius Seleucus Callinicus regnum acceperit.

There is an obvious confusion in Eusebius between the two Demetrii. We may take the Cyrene episode as belonging entirely to Demetrius the Fair : the defeat of Alexander II. of Epirus might have been an exploit of either. The date given by Eusebius for the death of Demetrius the Fair is clearly wrong. There is great confusion here, since he plainly states that Philip V. succeeded Demetrius the Fair as king in Macedonia in 258. A few lines below he gives another wrong date for the death of Philip. Therefore we must disregard this passage of Eusebius. A new chronology must be attempted. Now by Trogus the death of Demetrius is placed between the revolt of Ephesus under Ptolemy and the death of Antiochus II. in 246. The date of Ptolemy's revolt is not exactly known. Ephesus is conjectured to have been taken by Ptolemy II. from Antiochus II. about 258, and Ptolemy was then installed as governor.[1] His revolt must have taken place a little later than this. On the other hand Justinus' words *Ptolemei filium* in speaking of Ptolemy III. suggest that his father was still alive. Ptolemy II. died in 247 : therefore we may set the death of Demetrius between 256 and 247. Demetrius cannot have been killed very long before the death of Ptolemy II, for Berenike was still a young wife[2] when her husband, Ptolemy III. Euergetes set out on his great expedition in 246 to avenge his sister's death.

More evidence can be obtained by determining the date of the death of Magas. This is entirely unknown. Hitherto it has been assumed that

[1] Trogus, *loc. cit.*; Athenaeus, xiii. 563 b ; Beloch, *op. cit.* iii. 2, p. 131.
[2] Catullus, lxvi. 11.

since Demetrius according to Eusebius was killed in 258, Magas died in the same year, and that the invitation of Demetrius to Cyrene, his betrothal to Berenike, his intrigue with Apame, and his death all took place in that same year. Magas reigned fifty years,[1] but we do not know when his reign began. Ptolemy I. subdued Cyrene through Ophellas in 323.[2] In 312 there was a revolt, and Agis was sent to relieve the Ptolemaic garrison (under Ophellas?) besieged in the citadel, and crushed the rebels.[3] Ptolemy himself may have gone to Cyrene at this time.[4] In 309 Ophellas, by then master of Cyrene and independent, was invited by Agathocles to aid in attacking Carthage in Africa. Ophellas in 308, having accepted this invitation, marched to join Agathocles, but was slain through the latter's treachery.[5] Pausanias,[6] having mentioned the death of Antigonus (301) and Ptolemy's occupation of Coele Syria, goes on to tell us that Cyrene had revolted, but was taken after four years by Magas. Is Pausanias to be taken seriously and has he mentioned these occurrences in chronological order? If Pausanias' order is chronological, Magas must have occupied Cyrene in 301, and died in 251. But perhaps Pausanias is not to be relied on as being precise in this matter. In the same chapter he speaks as though Demetrius Poliorketes' victory at Salamis was won the year after his defeat at Gaza, whereas there was an interval of six years between them.[7] Therefore we may conclude that the revolt Magas put down was that due to Ophellas. Ophellas, who was apparently being besieged in the citadel of Cyrene in 312, can hardly have been powerful enough to declare himself independent before the end of 311. We do not know of any conquest or revolt of Cyrene between Ophellas' departure to join Agathocles and Antigonus' death at Ipsus. So if we may decide that Ophellas became independent in 311–310, Magas would have reconquered Cyrene for Ptolemy in 307–306. Thus Magas'[8] death would fall in 257–256. Further help can be obtained if we could date the attack of Alexander II. of Epirus mentioned by Justinus. This occurred apparently while Antigonus Gonatas was besieging Athens during the Chremonidean war. Since Athens was taken about 263,[9] Alexander's inroad must have taken place before. But it cannot have occurred very long before the fall of Athens, if Justinus'

[1] Athenaeus, xii. 550. [2] Diodorus, xviii. 21. [3] *Idem*, xix. 79.
[4] Pausanias, i. 6. 5. [5] Justinus, xxii. 7. [6] i. 6. 8. [7] i. 6. 6.
[8] Magas' revolt probably took place after the death of Ptolemy I.; Pausanias, i. 7. 1.
[9] Beloch, *Gr. Geschichte*, iii.[2] pp. 424 *seqq.*

phrase *per idem tempus . . . Magas decedit* is to be taken literally, since we have seen that Magas' death at the earliest would fall in 257. Assuming Alexander's inroad to have occurred about 265–264, if Magas died in 257–256, the use of *per idem tempus*[1] might be justifiable.

Now Eusebius says *dominatusque est annis x.* It is just possible that the confusion between Demetrius II. and Demetrius the Fair may have arisen partly from the similarity of name, partly from the fact that both reigned ten years. If Demetrius reigned in Cyrene from 256–247, he could be said to have reigned ten years. That Demetrius was βασιλεύς in Cyrene is evident from the Mantinea inscription.[2] The Antigonus there referred to is clearly shewn by the Geráki inscription to be Antigonus Doson, therefore βασιλέως Δημητρίου can only mean Demetrius the Fair.

The history of Demetrius the Fair is then briefly thus. He was born not earlier than 295, and probably accompanied his father to Macedonia, and after his father's expulsion lived with his half-brother Antigonus Gonatas. About 265, when the latter was temporarily driven from his kingdom by Alexander II. of Epirus, Demetrius coming to the rescue not only routed him, but carried the war into the enemy's country and drove Alexander in his turn into exile. So when Magas died not long after (257–256), he was a very suitable person for Apame to summon to marry her daughter and protect Cyrene from Egypt. Demetrius was not only first cousin to Berenike, but also a tried soldier. Demetrius accepted the invitation to Cyrene, and in due course became βασιλεύς and was probably betrothed to Berenike. Berenike at her father's death (257–256) can hardly have been more than 17 at most, since her mother Apame was not married till 275–274, and cannot have been over 16 at the time of her marriage.[3] Therefore the intrigue that followed between Demetrius and Apame was perhaps natural if we consider that they were both about the same age, that he would naturally prefer the woman to the immature girl, and that Demetrius was of considerable personal beauty.[4] But his tragic end narrated so dramatically by Justinus was fully deserved.

The duration of his reign in Cyrene (256–247) overlaps to some extent the period of the second Syrian war.[5] This, when we consider the

[1] Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.* pp. 426 *seqq.*

[2] Eumenes of Pergamum does not take the title nor does he give it to his father by adoption, Philetaerus, in two Pergamene inscriptions, Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 266, 267.

[3] Cf. *J.H.S.* 1905, p. 104.

[4] Cf. his nickname Καλός; *v.* Diogenes Laert. iv. 41.

[5] Cf. Niese, *op. cit.* p. 134.

close connection of Magas with the first Syrian war, is very suggestive.[1] Justinus tells us that Magas had betrothed Berenike to the son of Ptolemy II. This was perhaps one of the terms of the treaty concluding the first Syrian war. Antiochus I. died in 261, and Magas a few years later. The two kings who had concluded the peace were both dead, Egypt had been weakened by the Chremonidean war, and yet Cyrene against its will was to be reunited to Egypt through the marriage of Berenike and Ptolemy II.'s son. Further the Antigonid dynasty was now friendly and closely related to the Seleucid, and hostile to the Ptolemaic. Consequently Demetrius, as a prince who would support the Antigonid-Seleucid alliance against Egypt and as son of a Ptolemaic princess, was summoned to Cyrene at the instance of Apame, who was true to the interests of her relations, and perhaps by the decision of the Cyrenaeans. Probably to this period belongs the marriage of Stratonike, sister of Antiochus II., to Demetrius, the young son of Antigonus Gonatas, to cement the alliance.[2] The combination against Ptolemy was serious, but he seems to have caused his enemies some loss. Early in the war he seized Ephesus, and though he soon lost it again he seems to have captured many towns on the Asia Minor littoral from Antiochus. In Greece, too, he supported the Achaeans against Antigonus, and it was probably through Ptolemaic intrigues that Alexander,[3] son of Kraterus, governor of Corinth and Euboea, revolted against Antigonus. Demetrius the Fair seems to have been successful and consolidated his power in Cyrene and Libya. The war lasted till about 250.[4] Then Antiochus, weakened by the revolt of Diodotus, was forced to make peace: he put away his wife Laodike and married Berenike, Ptolemy's daughter, receiving Ephesus as her dowry. This seems to indicate a *rapprochement* between Antiochus and Ptolemy, and would account for the former's non-interference in Cyrene after Demetrius' death in 247, even were the revolt of Parthia not sufficient explanation. But at Demetrius' death Cyrene,[5] to judge by Justinus' words *versis omnium*

[1] *v.* Lehmann, *Beitr. z. alt. Geschichte*, iii. pp. 496 *seqq.*

[2] Beloch, *op. cit.* p. 92, suggests that the marriage of Phila with Antigonus Gonatas having taken place at the close of the war between him and Antiochus I., Demetrius was born about 276. Consequently he would have been about 18 in 258.

[3] Trogus, *Prol.* xxvi. [4] Niese, *op cit.* p. 139.

[5] It is worth remarking the frequency of the revolts of Cyrene against Ptolemaic rule. Besides those mentioned we know of two others (Polybius, x. 22. 2; Plutarch, *Philopoemen* 1, *Aratus* 5; and Polyaenus, viii. 70); further during the reign of Philometor it was independent under Euergetes II., and later from 117–96 it was ruled by Ptolemy Apion quite independent of Egypt.

animis in Ptolemei filium, seems to have voluntarily united itself with Egypt again.

We may then assume that the second Syrian war began in 258 B.C. between Antigonus and Antiochus II. on one side, against Ptolemy II. on the other, Magas remaining neutral. The principal events of the war would then seem to have been as follows:—258 Capture of Ephesus by Ptolemy; 257–256 Death of Magas, and invitation of Demetrius to Cyrene; 256 Victory of Antigonus off Cos over the Ptolemaic fleet;[1] 251 Revolt of Alexander, governor of Corinth[2]; 250 Revolt of Diodotus of Bactria, and conclusion of peace.

Thus at the conclusion of the war Demetrius was still in possession of Cyrene. It is doubtful if he ever really married Berenike. Justinus uses the word *virgo* to describe her, so it is most probable she was never married to Demetrius. There are two somewhat parallel cases. Cleopatra daughter of Antiochus III., though betrothed to the young Ptolemy V.[3] by the treaty after the battle of Panion in 198 was not married to him till 193; also Alexander Balas[4] did not marry Cleopatra daughter of Ptolemy Philometor till his attempt on the Seleucid throne had proved successful.

§ 2.—THE WORSHIP OF THE EARLIER DIADOCHI.

The two inscriptions help to confirm the conclusion arrived at by Kornemann[5] that the earlier Diadochi were not deified till after their death. The passage from Polybius quoted above says that Antigonus Doson was called *εὐεργέτης*, but after his death, *μεταλλάξας, σωτήρ*. This statement is confirmed by the inscriptions. Now this verb, with its corresponding noun *μεταλλαγή* and the similar verb *μεθίστασθαι* is specially used to describe the death of kings, as indicating their passing from earth to heaven.[6] It is particularly noticeable that Antigonos Doson was not called *σωτήρ* till after death, till he had left the company of men for that of gods. It therefore seems at least probable that the *official* attribution of the title *σωτήρ* implies deification. A brief examination of the inscriptions and literature will show the probability of this hypothesis as regards the third century.

[1] Beloch, *op. cit.* iii. 2, p. 432.
[2] *Idem*, *ibid.* pp. 436 *seqq.*
[3] Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, p. 306.
[4] Maccabees, i. 10, 51.
[5] *Beiträge z. alt. Geschichte*, i. p. 67.
[6] *v.* Kornemann, *op. cit.* p. 61, 1.

I. *Antigonid House.*—Antigonus and Demetrius Poliorketes were hailed as σωτῆρες by the Athenians in 307.[1] At that time they had not even taken the title βασιλεύς; and they did not take the name σωτήρ officially, but it was merely applied to them by a servile state. Demetrius Poliorketes was honoured at Sicyon as κτίστης,[2] and festivals and sacrifices were established for Antigonos Gonatas,[3] and for Antigonos Doson[4] during his lifetime.

II. *Attalid House.*—Eumenes I. was called εὐεργέτης, and as such had a festival and sacrifices.[5] Three, perhaps four, inscriptions apply the title Soter to Attalus I:[6] three of these are altars, the fourth is a statue base. These inscriptions may well date from after his death. In another inscription[7] Attalus is called θεός if the restoration is correct, but the inscription dates from after his death, since in it appears βασίλισσα Στρατονίκη. In the second century, after the death of Queen Apollonis, we find Eumenes II. officially given the title Soter during his lifetime.[8]

III. *Ptolemaic House.*—The Rhodians honoured Ptolemy I. as a god according to Diodorus,[9] and Pausanias[10] is our only authority for the statement that they called him Σωτήρ. Otherwise the epigraphic evidence is all in favour of the view that he received the title when he was deified after death. The Amorgos inscription[11] calls him Βασιλεὺς καὶ Σωτήρ; Arsinoe in the Halicarnassus inscription[12] calls him Σωτήρ; and many other inscriptions dating from after his death give him the same title, most of them using the title almost as an equivalent to Θεός.[13]

In the case of Ptolemy II. there are no Greek inscriptions which give us any reason to suppose that he was deified during his lifetime.[14] The revenue[15] laws dating from the twenty-seventh year of his reign (258) long after the death of Arsinoe,[16] his sister-wife whom he deified, do not give him

[1] Diodorus, xx. 46, 2. [2] *Id.* xx. 102, 3.
[3] *B.C.H.* 1882, p. 143, 1886, p. 1022. [4] Plutarch, *Aratus*, 45.
[5] Fränkel, *Inschrift. v. Perg.* 18; cf. Cardinali, *Regno di Pergamo*, pp. 139 *seqq.* esp. 156–158.
[6] Id. *op. cit.* 43, 45, 59; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 289. [7] Fränkel, *op. cit.* 171.
[8] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 308; Apollonis' death falls between 166 and 159. Eumenes is also called Soter in a Delphian inscription dating from soon after 167, Id. *op. cit.* 305.
[9] xx. 100. [10] i. 8. 6. [11] Dittenberger, *Syll.* i.² 202. [12] Id. *O.G.I.* 16.
[13] Id. *O.G.I.* 19, 22, 23, 25, 29; cf. Theocritus, xv. 47; evidence also from papyri, Kornemann, *op. cit.* p. 68, 2. The coins inscribed ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ were possibly not issued till after his death; but see Svoronos, Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων, p. 54.
[14] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 35, 39–47. [15] Mahaffy, *Revenue Laws*, cols. 1, 24.
[16] She died in his fifteenth year 271–270.

any divine title. However, Kornemann,[1] following Von Prott[2] who bases his argument on Wilckens's[3] article on Arsinoe, states that the deification of the dead Arsinoe as Θεὰ φιλάδελφος resulted, through the influence of the Egyptian priesthood, in the deification of the living Ptolemy II. Arsinoe was in fact so deified during her lifetime, and later still during the lifetime of Ptolemy II. the cult of the Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί was instituted. But it is remarkable that our knowledge of these cults at this period is derived from Egyptian[4] and not from Greek sources.

It seems likely that the title Θεοὶ ἀδελφοί was not the only one applied to Ptolemy II. and his wife. An altar recently found at Alexandria[5] bears the following inscription :—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ
ΘΕΩΝΣΩΤΗΡΩΝ

Apparently on being deified they were worshipped as Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες;[6] the title Θεοὶ ἀδελφοί must be later. Further, the coins bearing on one side heads of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoe, and on the other those of Ptolemy I. and Berenike, have the inscriptions ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ and ΘΕΩΝ.[7] It sounds from this as though the distinction in the words was between mortal and divine; had the difference between the two pairs as gods been intended to be emphasized, surely the inscriptions would have been ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ and ΣΩΤΗΡΩΝ.

As regards Ptolemy III. and his wife Berenike, they we know were deified during their lifetime[8] and so were the succeeding Ptolemaic kings. This custom, that the priesthood should deify the living king, is as Von Prott[9] pointed out a compromise between Greek and Egyptian custom. Kornemann[10] accepts this view, and especially emphasizes the Egyptian character of this idea of the divinity of the king.

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 70 *seqq.* [2] *Rhein. Mus.* liii. pp. 463 *seqq.*

[3] Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Arsinoe, 26.

[4] *v.* the references given by Wilcken *loc. cit.* which, owing to the inaccessibility of the books, it has been impossible to verify.

[5] Schreiber, *Stud. ü. Bild. Alexanders*, p. 251; he takes it as the inscription of an altar set up by Ptolemy II. and Arsinoe to the Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες; the Greek will hardly bear this translation. The use of βασιλέως may imply that Ptolemy was still alive.

[6] Ptolemy IV. is called Soter, Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 89.

[7] *B.M.Cat. Ptolemies*, Pl. VII. [8] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 64.

[9] *Loc. cit.* p. 466. [10] *Op. cit.* p. 75.

IV. *Seleucid House.*—An inscription of Ilion provides for the establishment of sacrifices and the erection of an altar to Seleucus I. with the inscription Βασιλέως Σελεύκου.[1] The Lemnians, as we learn from a passage of Phylarchos quoted by Athenaeus,[2] called Seleucus σωτήρ; but Phylarchos especially condemns this as flattery. That festivals in his honour were established is known,[3] but we know that he was not really deified till after death and then as Σέλευκος Ζεὺς Νικάτωρ, and this is the title he officially bears in inscriptions.[4]

A decree of Ilion provides for a gold equestrian statue of Antiochus I. and that the inscription should describe him as εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα γεγονότα τοῦ δήμου.[5] This is not an official title, and σωτῆρα in this passage seems to have the sense of protector rather than saviour, and is not to be written with a capital sigma. Appian, a late and not very precise authority, says he won the title Σωτήρ from having defeated the Gauls.[6] He may have been given the title after death for having defeated the Gauls during his lifetime. An inscription from Clazomenae decrees sacrifices to Antiochus, his wife Stratonike and his son Antiochus.[7] On the other hand nearly all inscriptions after his death call him Soter, or ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Σωτὴρ Ἀντίοχος, and he was officially deified as Ἀντίοχος Ἀπόλλωνος Σωτήρ.[8] There are also in existence coins with the legend ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[9] with an elderly portrait of Antiochus; but it is very probable that these were struck after his death by his successor to commemorate his deification.

Appian[10] again is our authority for saying that Antiochus II. was called Θεός by the Milesians. He is not called so in inscriptions till after his death.[11] The Milesians may merely have given him honours as a god: in any case it was not a state official title.

Seleucus II. and Seleucus III. were not deified till after death. Likewise Antiochus III., his son Antiochus, and Seleucus IV., though they had

[1] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 212. [2] v. 255 a.

[3] Dittenberger, *Syll.*[2] i. 250, 251.

[4] Appian, *Syr.* 63; *C.I.G.* 4458 = Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 245; Dittenberger *O.G.I.* 233.

[5] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 219.

[6] *Syr.* 65; Dittenberger dates the Bargylia inscription (*Syll.*[2] i. 216) to Antiochus' lifetime merely because of this passage of Appian. The king's name is restored, and of the Soter the first half is wanting.

[7] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 222. [8] Id. *ibid.* 229, 233, 245, 246.

[9] *B.M. Cat. Seleucids*, Pl. III. 7. [10] *Loc. cit.*

[11] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 229, 233, 245, 246.

priests while alive, did not become Θεοί officially till after death.[1] It is noticeable that the first Seleucid who officially called himself Θεός while alive was Antiochus IV. It is quite likely that he only adopted this style after his successful invasion of Egypt, where the native priests, to judge by Ptolemaic precedents, almost certainly hailed him as Θεός.

From this evidence it is clear that Kornemann's conclusions are correct, that none of the early Diadochi with the exception of the Ptolemies were deified till after death. The exception in the case of the Ptolemaic dynasty is due entirely to Egyptian religious ideas and customs. As regards the suggested theory that the official title Σωτήρ always implies deification, there is at present no evidence against it, except the doubtful case of Antiochus I.[2] In any case the name is given him only by a flattering city, and a distinction must always be drawn between the extravagant honours paid to monarchs by servile city-states, and between state titles officially adopted by rescripts or decrees. This, taken with the passage of Polybius, a contemporary author, is a very strong reason for believing that our hypothesis is correct. Kornemann[3] says 'Die von Göttern entlehnten ehrenden Beinamen wie Soter (des Ptolemaios) oder Nikator (des Seleukos) haben aber bei Lebzeiten der Herrscher keine offizielle Geltung gehabt und beweisen gar nichts für staatlich eingesetzte Herrscherkulte für die ersten Diadochen bei ihren Lebzeiten.' Finally it is noticeable that of the other dynasties, Eumenes II. and Antiochus IV were the first to be deified while alive. The earliest date for Eumenes II. being so is 167, also after Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt.

It is probable, then, that Antiochus first received divine honours in Egypt, and that having once become a god, he continued to call himself one in his own dominions; and that Eumenes II. not wishing to be unequal to his friend and neighbour[4] followed his example and had himself deified as Εὐμένης Σωτήρ.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.
ALAN J. B. WACE.

[1] Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 233, 245, 246. In the Magnesia inscription (233) Seleucus III. though dead is still called Βασιλεύς: perhaps he was not yet deified. The dead kings are simply called Σελεύκου Νικάτορος, Σελεύκου Καλλινίκου, and so on, while the living king Antiochus III. and his son have the title Βασιλεύς.

[2] Cf. Niese, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 71, 80.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 67.

[4] Close relations existed between them; Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 248.

LACONIA.

III.—THALAMAE.

I.—EXCAVATIONS.

TRIAL excavations were conducted last spring near the village of Koutiphari in Laconia, with the object of testing the theory which located the town of Thalamae and the dream-oracle of Ino-Pasiphae in its vicinity.[1] Koutiphari is situated on the high plateau of West Maina,[2] which overlooks the gulf of Kalamata, at a distance of about thirty-five miles from Kalamata itself and about ten from the small port of Oetylus (mod. Vitylo). The topographical reasons which led Mr. Forster to suppose that the oracle and sacred spring of Ino were to be found near Koutiphari are discussed by him in *B.S.A.* x. p. 161. The inscription which he publishes on p. 174 of the same volume, with its dedication by the citizens of Thalamae, gave further probability to the view, and it may be stated at once that sufficient evidence was brought to light by excavation and exploration of the surrounding country to confirm his opinion.

The sacred spring mentioned by Pausanias (III. xxvi. 1) was the first object of investigation, and soon afforded a good clue for the position of the oracle. He mentions in this passage that it lay on the road between Oetylus and Thalamae. Now from Oetylus to Langada (about 1½ mile

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* x. p. 161. For the older views cf. Leake, *Peloponnesus*, p. 178 (Platsa is the chief town of the district, about 1½ miles north of Koutiphari); Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques*, p. 93; Bursian, *Geog. von Griechenland*, ii. p. 153; Curtius, *Peloponnesus*, ii. 284; Fraser, *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 400.

[2] For a description of the geography and geology of the Maina country, cf. Philippson, *Peloponnes*, i. pp. 199 foll.

south of Koutiphari) there are no springs at all, the water being stored in cisterns, so that the field of search was considerably narrowed. Langada derives its name from a rocky gorge descending from the mountains to the sea, which may well have formed the boundary between the territory of Oetylus and Thalamae. It seemed clear that we must search for the oracle to the north of this line. Langada itself contains two inconsiderable springs and no traces of ancient remains, but the spring which has the best local reputation for quality, and which alone is certain to survive the hottest summer, is the spring in the small village of Svina, within half a mile of Koutiphari, by the side of which Mr. Forster found his large inscription. No other place suits so well the description of Pausanias. Other inscriptions published by Mr. Forster (Nos. 14, 15, and 16 in the article quoted above) were found in the vicinity of this spring; the beautiful Doric capital (Fig. 1) was found not a quarter of a mile away at a little spring on the hill-side, and fragments of two fine marble pilasters [1] were discovered within fifty yards of the place, near the wall of large poros blocks described below (pp. 129 f.), which may well have come from the sanctuary itself. The open space, near which the houses of Svina cluster, contains two springs, the one referred to above, in general use at the present day, and enclosed in a modern vaulted well-house, and another, known by the name of Ἐβραικὸ πηγάδι, which is no longer used by the inhabitants, although we were informed that the water was quite equal to that of its neighbour. This spring (cf. Fig. 2) is partially enclosed by walls of good Hellenic masonry, and we believe it to have been the sacred spring referred to by Pausanias.

A further story which we desired to investigate was the report, published in the nineteenth volume of *Pandora* (1868), p. 337, and repeated to us verbally, that treasures were hidden in a field of olive trees belonging to the widow Strongyleas, a little to the north of the second or older well-house. Systematic excavation shewed that there was little to be

[1] Two fragments of a pilaster were discovered near the poros wall, which proved to fit together. In the church of Hagios Johannes, in the village of Koutiphari, part of another is used as a cross-holder. This piece retains its capital and gives the following measurements:—Size of abacus: height 3·7 c., width 23 c., depth from back to front 28 c.; echinus (diam.), width at top 23 c., at bottom 20 c., height (including anuli) 5·5 c.; height of remaining shaft 42 c., 9 flutes measuring 3 c. at top, 3·1 c. at bottom. Applied against a marble slab 7·5 c. thick. The pilaster forms slightly less than half a true column. If these pilasters belonged to the sanctuary, they would probably form part of the interior architecture, perhaps supporting the roof above a lower line of columns.

found in this field,[1] but between the field and the well-house were subsequently discovered a marble table top, a fluted shaft that does not fit the table, part of a handmill, and an oblong base mortised for a stele, objects which probably account for the origin of the tradition.

The town of Thalamae probably stood on the rising ground which slopes up sharply above the open space round the two well-houses, and extended below it over a fertile tract now largely planted with gardens.

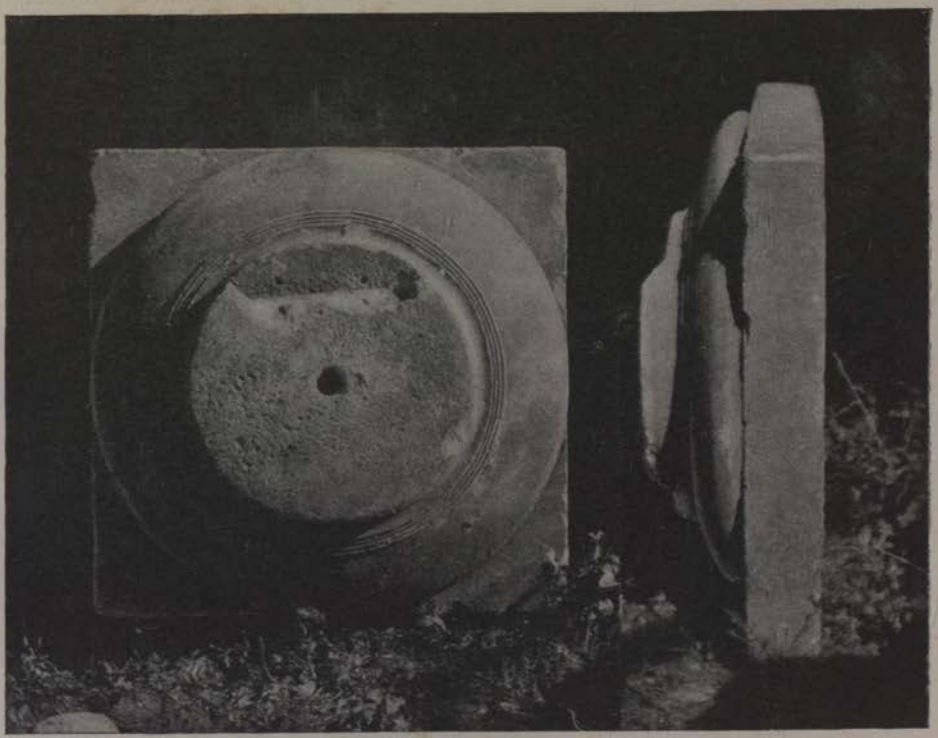


FIG. 1.—DORIC CAPITAL.

Later occupiers have carefully terraced the whole countryside for purposes of cultivation, and in so doing have turned over most of the soil down to

[1] We found here a large coarse pithos, similar to the one with inscr. No. 16 in Mr. Forster's paper, probably of late Roman date, containing the lower part of a pouring vessel, part of a stone handmill of dice-box shape, the head of an iron pickaxe (26·5 c. long), a bronze pin (8 c. long), part of a Byzantine lamp, half a stone-hammer of Neolithic date, fragments of coarse pottery, and a little Hellenic black glazed ware.

the rock, which is about three or four metres below the surface in the deepest places. The process has probably caused the removal of practically all small objects such as bronzes and terracottas, and also of most stones suitable for building.

It would seem that this site was inhabited from the earliest times. A Neolithic object has been mentioned, and in a trench a little above the old well-house we found the upper part of a large *Bügelkanne* of coarse micaceous clay (the handle measuring about 20 c.), of a species and size known to be Cretan, which affords evidence both for early habitation and for the Cretan influence which seems to be implied in the legend of Ino-Pasiphae.[1]

The evidence for Hellenic occupation consists of the fine Doric capital (Fig. 1), which was found at a small spring on the hillside, and probably came from a church of Hagios Strategos near by, which is largely built of poros blocks; another similar capital of slightly smaller dimensions,[2] which was built into the wall of the ruined church of Hagios Athanasios, between Koutiphari and Svina, the two Doric pilasters mentioned above, which would seem from the shape of the echinus to belong to the fourth century, while the flat echinus of the capitals is typical of sixth century architecture, a certain amount of black glazed pottery, a few coins found in the excavation, and the Hellenic masonry of the poros wall and the old well-house which are described below. From the Roman period we found lamps, a few bronze pins, and fragments of Samian or Pseudo-Aretine pottery. The existing walls, however, discovered on the slope above the well-houses betray by their poor workmanship (of small roughly cut stones mortared together) and irregular formation a later origin. We should probably see in them foundation walls of the mediaeval or Byzantine settlement, evidence for which is amply afforded by the numerous churches of the district, containing many pieces of decorative sculpture and fresco work that deserve a detailed study. It seems clear that the presence of the excellent springs made the site of Thalamae popular from the earliest times, and at the present day it presents a more fertile and prosperous appearance than any of the neighbouring villages.

[1] Cf. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 246 foll.

[2] The larger capital measures: abacus, 70 c. × 68 c., 9·5 c. in height; echinus (diam.), 68 c. at top, 41 c. at bottom, height 8 c. Height of neck 7·5 c., diam. 39·5 c. At the bottom is a ring 41 c. in diam. 2 c. in height. The smaller capital measures 2 c. less in length and breadth of abacus, and the other measurements vary in proportion.

The old well-house, of which a sketch-plan and section (Fig. 2) are reproduced, affords interesting evidence for the Hellenic period. The spring rises in a corner made by two steep rock walls which form the north and west sides of the modern well-house. This consists of a vaulted building containing two doors for letting down buckets, and a small basin between them, over which the water escapes into a channel, and flows out through an irregular sunken enclosure between the wall A and the steps which lead down into it. The shape of the Hellenic well-house, however, which it seems permissible to connect with the sacred spring of Pausanias

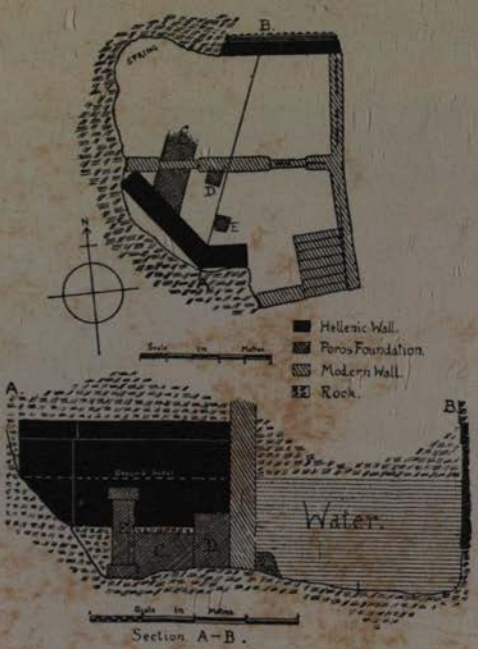


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF OLD WELL-HOUSE.

must have been triangular, with the spring at the apex and the two walls A and B (marked black in the plan) at the sides, covering the faces of the rock. It was impossible, with the means at our disposal, to excavate the enclosure completely, and hence the thickness of the Hellenic wall B is uncertain, but as the height and general appearance correspond with A, we may conjecture that the thickness is also the same, and that an angle projected at the east end similar to that formed by A, the whole thus

forming a symmetrical enclosure for the spring. The roof of the modern well-house is roughly vaulted, but holes for ceiling beams above the Hellenic wall B shew that it was once provided with a better roof. There is no reason to connect this with the earlier period, but it may have belonged to the mediaeval remodelling of which we see traces in the cross-hatched structures C, D, and E. C and D are evidently foundation walls, being built of large roughly dressed blocks. The column E, with rude unsymmetrical impost and base, without flutes, and only approximately circular, can never have been intended to be visible. We may therefore suppose that the ground- and water-level were never much lower than they are at present, and that these structures supported some mediaeval erection built across the mouth of the old spring before the present well-house was erected. The Hellenic wall B rests on the rock, and, to suit its slope, has its greatest height at the east end, narrowing almost to a point at its western extremity. Both A and B have a slightly projecting cornice, a course of large blocks extending to a few centimetres below the present ground- and water-level, and then smaller courses, which were perhaps originally invisible. Towards the spring the water is one metre deeper than in the east end of the tank.

Just above the well-house is the site of the vanished church of Hagios Taxiarchos, where Mr. Forster saw his archaic inscription No. 14. In the site of the church itself nothing was discovered save two recent graves; a few objects[1] appeared on a terrace to the south of it, partly occupied by a ruined schoolhouse.

Fifty yards north-east of the old well-house and just behind the newer one, we discovered, at a depth of 1½ metre, a single-course wall of large squared Hellenic blocks running north-west to south-east for 9·50 metres, adjoining a wall of more recent construction at the north-west extremity, which stands above the bank of a small torrent bed. The ground is slightly higher to the north, so that the south-eastern half of the wall is at a lower level than the north-western; one block overlaps, and from this a single-course wall extends for 5·10 metres at a right-angle to the south-west. Traces of another cross wall to the north-east we discovered 5 metres up the slope. The blocks average 1·20 × ·50 × ·40 metre, and rest on a foundation of small stones and fragments of brick. The backs

[1] A Byzantine roof tile, fragments of a glass vase, fragments of Roman lamps, an elliptical column probably from the church, an imperial coin, and rough pottery fragments.

of the stones are irregular and the edges worn and damaged. It is clear, therefore, that they are not in their original position. At the same time it is highly improbable that so many large blocks would have been moved far. The same argument applies to the large statue base with the inscription published by Mr. Forster. This fact, and the discovery of the pilaster fragments in the same neighbourhood, lend colour to the supposition that the sanctuary itself stood not far from this spot. There may be other traces unexcavated, and in any case the constant search for building stone would explain their absence. Between the old well-house and the poros wall lies the slope where most of the remains of walls were discovered. Among these, at a depth of 3 metres, we found an elliptical kiln or oven, probably for pottery making. It has rubble walls and a levelled floor lined with burnt clay, and a raised bank running all round. There are two entrances at the ends of the longer axis. Length, 2·70 m., width, 2·40 m. The bank or shelf is 30 c. wide and 45 c. above the floor. At the west end of this area, above and behind the well-house, portions of a stone statue base were discovered with part of an inscription published in the following article (cf. p. 133). This must have been deliberately broken up for the sake of the material, as the remaining pieces are not more than a quarter of the whole of the original block, and no sign of the rest was forthcoming.

In conclusion, therefore, the excavations seem to have confirmed the theory as to the position of the oracle of Ino-Pasiphae in conformity with the evidence of Pausanias. The sanctuary must have been a building of some pretensions, if we attribute to it the fine marble capitals and pilasters, and the absence of votive offerings or other small remains is easily explicable by the nature of the ground. As to the advisability of future excavation on the site, it is quite possible that further traces of the Hellenic settlement are to be discovered by a thorough examination of the ground, especially among the gardens on the slope below the well-houses, but the general appearance of the country makes it doubtful if the labour would be adequately rewarded.

GUY DICKINS.

2.—INSCRIPTIONS.

1. (Fig. 1.)

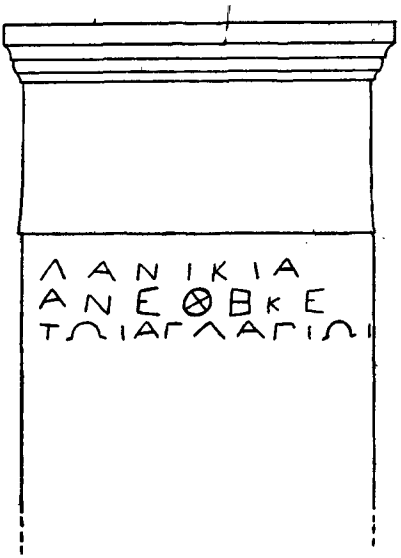


FIG. 1.

ΛΑΝΙΚΙΑ
ΑΝΕΘΒΚΕ
ΤΩΙΑΓΛΑΓΙΩΙ

In the ruined monastery of Panagia Kavallaris, four miles south-west of Koutiphari. On a white marble stele supporting the altar in the church. Over 78 c. long by 23 c. broad and 13 c. wide. Letters 1·50 c. to 2·0 c. The stele is partly buried in the earth, so its total length is unknown, as it was impossible to dig in the church.

The monastery stands on the steep slope of Hagios Nikos above a hollow in the mountains, where there are vineyards, just below it is a copious spring. The road to Gytheion crosses the opposite slope. I found no other traces of Hellenic occupation, but the spot would be eminently suitable for a sanctuary site.

Λανικία. I have received the following note from Mr. Tod:

'Feminine names in *-νικία* from masculines in *-νικος* seem to be confined to Laconia. No examples in Pape-Benseler, Bechtel-Fick, or Bechtel's more recent work (*Attischen Frauennamen*); but for Laconia cf. Προτονικία *Ath. Mitth.* ii. 371, No. 171, and [Π]ρατονικία or [Στ]ρατονικία *G.D.I.* 4466. It is interesting to notice that the masculine names in *-νίκης* (=*-νικος*) are also peculiar to Laconia, *e.g.* Δαμονίκης *C.I.G.* 1246, ll. 1. 2., 1373, ll. 3. 4, Καλλινίκης *G.D.I.* 4444 l. 15 (Sparta Cat. 207), Κληνίκης *G.D.I.* 4457, l. 4 (Sparta Cat. 214), Πολονίκης *G.D.I.* 4446, l. 20 (Sparta Cat. 296). The name appears in its Attic form Λεωνίκη in *I.G.* ii. Suppl. 1401*b*. Λανίκη was the name of the nurse of Alexander the Great (cf. Arr. *Ann.* 4. 9. 3, Ael. v. h. 12. 26, Ath. 4. 129). The scholiast to Plat. *Alc.* i. 121 D mentions it as the name of a Laconian nurse (Λανική should be altered to Λανίκη, or should we read Λανικία?). In the passage the scholium does not seem to make sense, and there may be confusion with the nurse of Alexander, in which case the two Lanikes would be identical.'

Ἀγλαπίῳ. On the various forms of the name Ἀσκληπιός cf. Preller-Robert i.[2] 514.[3] Hesychius gives Ἀγλαόπης as a Laconian variant. Lycophron (*Cassandra* 1054) speaks of the god as Ἤπιος, the original form according to Tsetses. Judging from a fragment of Isyllus[1] (Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, i. 7. 50 f.), the derivation is from Αἴγλη, and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Isyllus von Epidauros*, p. 91 foll.), in commenting on this passage, connects Αἴγλη and ἤπιος. His conjecture would seem to be confirmed by this inscription.

For purposes of dating[2] the letters may be compared with *G.D.I.* 4416 (Sparta Cat. 440), which is attributed to about the year 400. In it we find the same AΒ⊗N, but it is decidedly earlier, for there:—

1. The Ionic ω does not yet appear: O = *o*, ω.
2. The Ionic η does not yet appear: Β = h.
3. The three horizontal bars of the Ε are equal.

It should probably be placed about the middle of the fourth century, since Laconia would lag behind Attica, and the country behind the capital in adopting new letters. A sanctuary, too, is traditionally conservative. For the appearance of ⊗ in a late inscription cf. Sparta Cat. No. 502.

[1] Ἐπίκλησιν δέ νιν Αἴγλας ματρὸς Ἀσκλαπιὸν ὠνόμαξε Ἀπόλλων.

[2] For this note on the dating of the inscription, I am indebted to Mr. Tod.

2. (Fig. 2.)

ΤΕ
ΜΑΤ
ΤΗCΚ
CΤΑC
ΔΡΙΑΝ
ΤΟΥΠΡ
ΒΕΩC

FIG. 2.

On a statue base 69 c. wide at the bottom 55.2 c. at the shaft. Thickness 44 c. Height of surviving fragment 70·5 c. Letters 2·5 c. to 3·5 c. The material of the block is a coarse limestone.

FIG. 3.

The base was found in several fragments between the old well-house and the field of the olive trees. The remaining pieces must have been removed after the block had been deliberately broken up.

L. 2. The next letter began with a curve, Ω, Ο, C, or Ε.

L. 5. Enough is left to show that the next letter was probably Τ. *ἀνδριάντα* or *ἀνδριάντος* is a probable restoration.

L. 7. *πρέσ]βεως*. The following letter here is probably Τ.

The letters are evidently of imperial date.

3. (Fig. 3.) ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Stele of rosso antico from the house of Παναγιώτης Μιχαλιακός in Svina. Length 51 c. Breadth 24 c.

Letters 1·8 c. The letters are irregular and the surface beneath shows marks of erasure. The inscription probably dates from the Roman period.

4. (Fig. 4.)

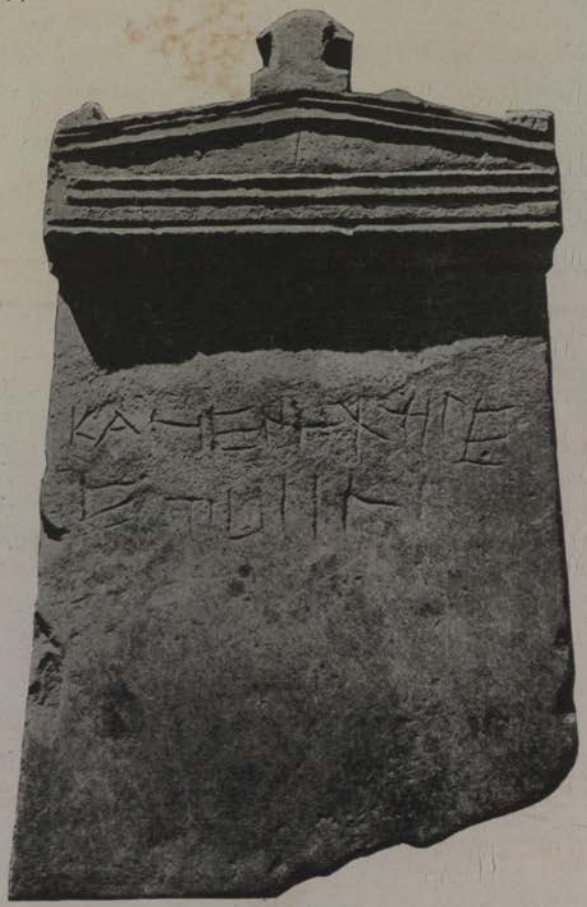


FIG. 4.

ΚΑΜΕΝΗΧΚΙΡΕ
ΕΤΕΙΙΙΙΗ

Stele of rosso antico from the doorstep of the house of Ἰωάννης Γεννηματάς or Σωτειρέας in Koutiphari with the original inscription erased. Letters 2·5 c. to 3·5 c.

L. 1. Κα(υ)μένη is probably a depreciative early Christian name; cf. Ramsay *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. 2, 493, for other examples.

L. 2. Whether the fourth letter belongs to ΕΤΕΙ, which is frequently misspelt ΕΤΕ, or is part of the number of years which follows is uncertain. The inscription must date from the early Christian period.

5. (Partly published *B.S.A.* x. p. 173, No. 17.) (Fig. 5.)

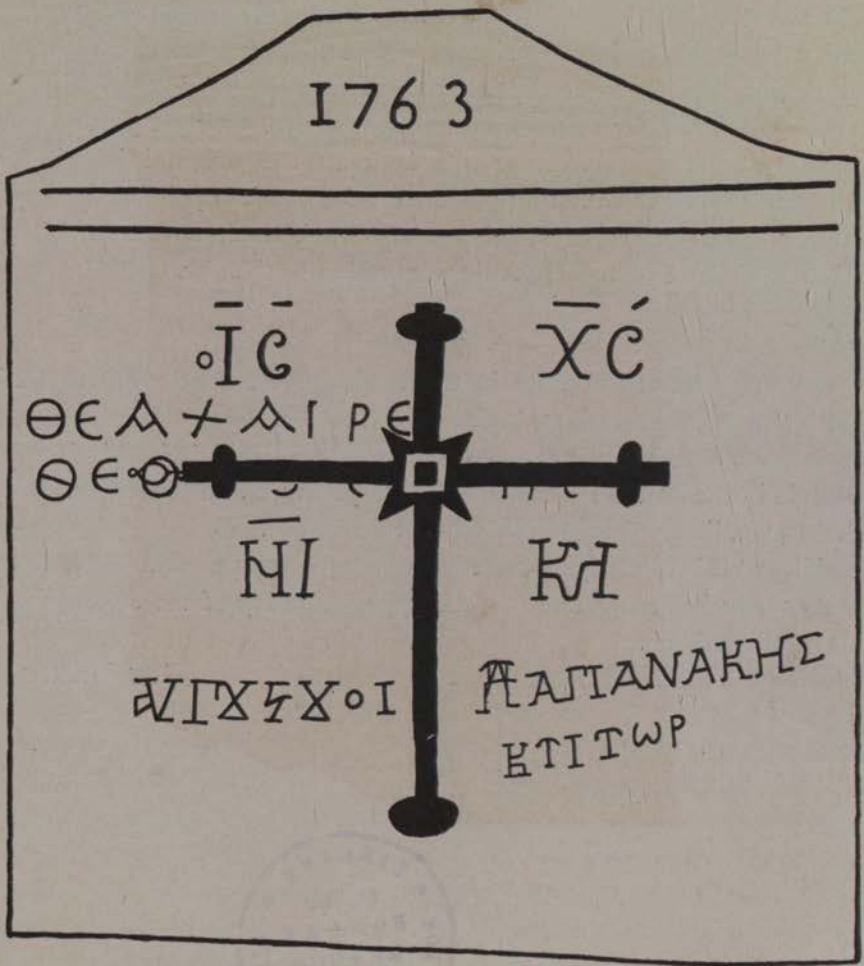


FIG. 5.

Stele of rosso antico with gable form and acroterial ornaments similar to Nos. 3 and 4 over the door of the church of Εὐαγγελιστρία, Koutiphari.

41 c. by 38 c. Letters 1·3 c. to 1·6 c. After ΘΕΟ are signs of an earlier inscription under the whole horizontal bar of the cross.

-θεα χαῖρε and *-θεο*, which must be part of the name of another deceased person, are letters of Roman or early Christian date; the rest is a common form of late Byzantine inscription for the erection of churches. The small circle after *Αὐγούστου* is probably decorative. I may be the day of the month, or the initial of the name of the founder *Παπαγιανάκης*.

These last three inscriptions form an interesting group as they are all on stelai of rosso antico, of similar size and appearance, and probably of approximately the same date. In each case the original inscription has been erased, and a later one substituted, but in No. 5 we get part of an older inscription surviving. Whether this is itself the original inscription, or carved over an earlier Greek one, is uncertain, but it is possible at any rate to suggest that the three stelai are of Greek date, a fact which gives additional evidence of the Hellenic occupation of the site.

6. ΦΥΓΙΜΟΝ

On an undressed boulder in the road above the excavations leading from Nomitse to Somatiana. Letters 4 c. to 9 c.

Φύγιμον occurs in the eighty-first line of the Andania inscription from Messenia in the sense of a sanctuary or asylum; cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 653, vol. ii., p. 469. *φύγιμον εἶμεν τοῖς δούλοις.*

The rock is too large to have been brought from a great distance, and we may therefore conjecture that the upper boundary of the *τέμενος* was in this neighbourhood.

GUY DICKINS.

LACONIA.

IV.—THE Ἕρμαῖ ON THE N.E. FRONTIER.

Ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τὰς κώμας ὄρος Πάρνων, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀργείους ὅροι καὶ Τεγεάτας εἰσίν· ἑστήκασι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις Ἑρμαῖ λίθου, καὶ τοῦ χωρίου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν.—PAUS. II. 38. 7.

An excavation of the three mounds of stones and earth at the spot called *στοὺς Φονεμένους* between Hagios Petros and Arachova, undertaken by me last July, showed that these mounds were formed in ancient times, and made it highly probable, if not certain, that they are the Ἕρμαῖ mentioned by Pausanias as marking the boundaries between Laconian territory and that of Argos and Tegea. The most important find is a slab of common schist, mutilated on the left hand side, and bearing in large characters the inscription ΛΝΞΘΛΟΣ (Fig. 1). Although I have not been able to find a name ending with precisely these letters, it is certainly a man's name in the nominative, and the slab must be explained as a tombstone. There were also found a small piece of an archaic *gorgoneion* of terracotta, a small vase without its neck resembling the spherical Corinthian *aryballoi*, and some insignificant fragments of small vases, covered with glaze-paint, and of roof-tiles. The hope that tombs dating, as the inscription suggested, from the pre-Persian period might be discovered, was not fulfilled. Inside the mounds nothing was found that could throw light on the original construction of these tombs, except in one of them a poorly built wall of common unworked stones, about 6 m. long. No bones were noticed and only a small quantity of charcoal.

Nevertheless it seems highly probable that we have to do with tombs resembling that found at Pikramygdalia near Chrysapha, from which came the famous stele and the stone inscribed Ἑρμᾶνος. A heap of unworked stones, large and small, with an admixture of earth and fragments of vases and tiles—such was the tomb of Pikramygdalia. The inscription from *'στοὺς Φονεμένους* can hardly be explained on any other supposition. If it be granted that the three mounds were tombs, it is easy to suppose that on them there stood herm-pillars, probably in the form of unworked slabs set upright on the cairns, so that from these herm-pillars the place got its name of Ἕρμαῖ when the existence of the tombs was forgotten.

A full discussion of the question must be postponed until after next summer, both because certain details of the discovery require further elucidation on the spot, and—what is more important—because there is a fourth mound hitherto unnoticed, lying about 300 metres west of the others and exactly resembling them, which still awaits excavation. When I return to the subject I shall think myself fortunate if I may avail myself once more of the hospitality of the *British School Annual.*

K. ROMAIOS.

FIG. 1.—INSCRIBED SLAB FROM *'στοὺς Φονεμένους.*

LACONIA.

V.—FRANKISH SCULPTURES AT PARORI AND GERAKI.

SINCE remains, especially of an artistic nature, that can be definitely assigned to the Frankish period,[1] are rare in Greece, the following monuments are of some interest.

The warrior relief (Fig. 1) is walled up in the house of Ioannes Sikiotes in the hamlet of Parori, at the foot of Taygetus about half an hour south of Mistra. It is of local bluish marble, and measures ·85 × ·53 m.; the height of the relief is ·02 m. It shews a warrior *en face*, though his legs are represented in profile to the right; the hair does not seem to be indicated, nor is there any trace of a helmet; the eyes are roughly oval in shape and the pupils are indicated by dots; the ears are big, the nose is snub, and the mouth is rendered by a line that curves downwards at the corners; the neck is long, the body has no indication of detail except the nipples, the chest is narrow and the hips are rather wide; the legs and feet are very small. The warrior is clad in a long cloak fastened round his neck and hanging down the back; round the waist is a loin cloth, and also a belt, and there is apparently no other indication of clothing; the folds of the cloak are merely rendered by curved incised lines; there are shoes on the feet. In his right hand he holds a small oval shield, and in his left a short sword. In execution the relief is childish, the surface is very flat, and all detail is rendered by incised lines; the sharp square edges of the planes point to a very unskilled artist, as does also the

[1] I wish to express my hearty thanks to Mr. W. Miller for the historical references added to this paper.

primitive expedient of rendering in profile the legs of a figure *en face* to avoid foreshortening. The peculiarities of the costume shewn in the relief, the long cloak, and the shape of the shield seem to stamp it at once as Frankish. It is probably the work of some Frank whose hand was more used to the sword than the chisel. Thus can be explained the small size of the shield, and the error which places the sword in the left hand.

FIG. 1.—RELIEF AT PARORI.

In its general style this relief, especially as regards the head, resembles a gargoyle of unknown provenance now in the Sparta Museum.[1] This represents a couchant lion or some other similar animal; the mouth is open and shews a fine row of jagged teeth. All detail is rendered by simple incised lines, and the edges are hard and sharp.

At Geráki, in the Frankish citadel, which is an hour distant from the

[1] *Sparta Mus. Cat.* 327.

village and the Greek site and perched on a steep waterless hill, are the remains of several churches all more or less ruined. This Kastro is a purely Frankish foundation and was one of the original baronies; the site was unoccupied till Guy de Nivelet,[1] the first baron, made it his seat some time after 1209. The castle stands on a steep hill rising at the foot of Parnon on the west, and was of great importance as protecting the country from the Tsakonian mountaineers and the Byzantine garrison of Monemvasia.

FIG. 2.—GERAKI KASTRO: DOOR OF Ζωοδόχος Πηγή.

Just below the castle proper on the west side of the hill are the remains of houses and several churches. One of these churches (Ζωοδόχος Πηγή) has a pointed arch to its west door, and the moulding of bluish local marble is decorated with a rather rudely cut geometrical pattern

[1] Finlay, *History of Greece*, iv. pp. 185 *seqq.* The *Livre de la Conqueste* (pp. 52, 101) mentions 'le Gierachy par la Crémonie' as given to Guy de Nivelet, and also says that Jean I. de Nivelet built 'le Girachy qui est à la Chaconie.' The Italian *Cronaca di Morea* says 'Miser Giva de Muilet—fabricò un castello detto Gerachii;' Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 428, cf. p. 438.

(Fig. 2).[1] Above the door is a niche to contain a sacred picture, at the bottom of which there is on either side a cat's head, also in bluish marble, somewhat similar to the lion in the Sparta Museum. Walled in either

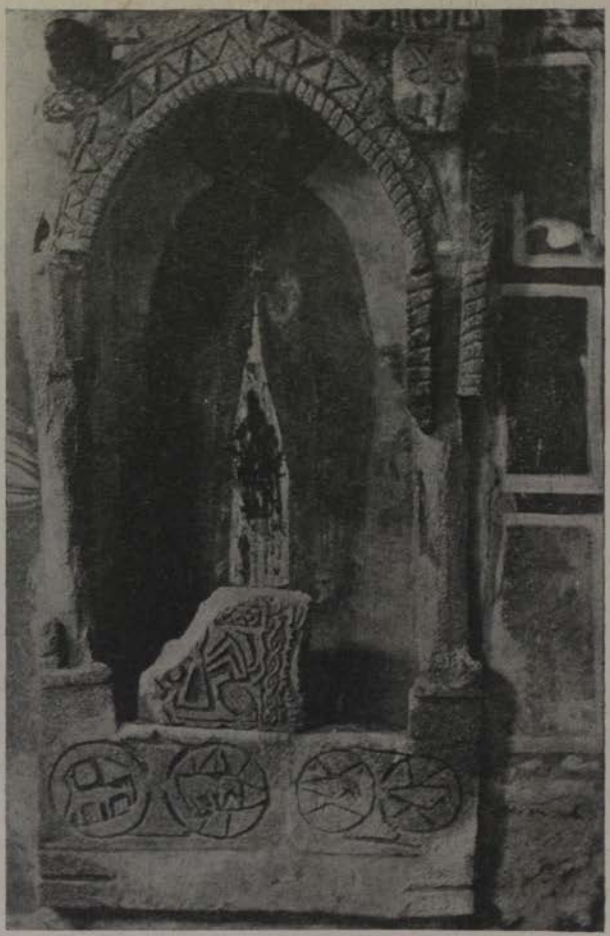


FIG. 3.—GERAKI KASTRO: SHRINE IN Ἁγια Παρασκευή.

side of the door are pieces of carving in a peculiar kind of poros, shewing interlaced scroll patterns. Farther on the left is seen a cross in high relief

[1] The plaster seen on the wall is late, since a narthex was added to the church in Byzantine times. A narthex was added to each of the other three Frankish churches, the two mentioned below, and one in an isolated outwork on the southern peak of the hill.

cut on a marble slab. All this ornament is very square and sharp, and rendered simply by somewhat clumsy incised work.

Similar ornament and a similar cat's head are to be seen on the frame of a shrine in the church Ἁγια Παρασκευή lower down the hill (Fig. 3). This frame is built into the north wall of the church just outside the screen. On its base are four incised circles, two containing rude quadrupeds and two birds: the pointed arch is decorated with a pattern of triangles; in the spandrels on either side is a rather square-shaped cat's head; that on the left is unfortunately nearly destroyed, but that on the right shews the same style and type as those over the door of the church Ζωοδόχος Πηγή. Above the frame are some blocks of poros—the frame itself is of local bluish marble—decorated with scroll patterns and animals. The decoration noted in these two churches is similar in style to the Parori relief; all that is in the round or in high relief has sharp square edges, is weak in execution, and shews no freedom of line in its rendering. The desired effect has been produced by the simplest and most mechanical means: all details and all ornaments are rendered by plain incisions, a very primitive method, and the designs shew no firmness of line whatsoever.

In marked contrast to these stands the shrine frame in the church of St. George within the castle proper at Geráki.[1] This church was obviously the castle chapel, and as such the chapel of the baronial family. Over its original door is a shield, shewing a chequer pattern, probably the arms of de Nivelet. In the north aisle of the church, and just outside the screen is a remarkable shrine frame (Fig. 4). In the peak of the gable—unfortunately not visible in the photograph—is a shield similar to that over the door but crossed by a bar sinister. The illustration gives a sufficiently good picture of this wonderful monument, so it will only be necessary to comment on a few details of its ornament. The frame is built throughout of coarse local bluish marble, and is hollow, that is to say, there is open space behind all its ornamentation. It clearly was put in after the church was built. The curious gaps between the slabs at the sides are a peculiar form of decoration. The fleur de lys to the right of the

[1] The original church did not have a narthex, but consisted only of a nave, two aisles, and the triple apse. The narthex was added later in the Byzantine period: this is proved by the arms over the door leading from the narthex to the nave. The south aisle has been reconstructed in comparatively modern times: this accounts for its being supported by a brick pier and not by a column. The screen before the apse was originally of the western type, and made of marble, open above and panelled below. The upper part was filled in later.

arch suggests a Frankish origin, while the crescent and stars on the other side rather indicate some Saracenic element. The crosses however below on either side mark the work as obviously Christian. On the other hand the clustered pillars and the delicate bands of interlaced tracery in open-

FIG. 4.—GERAKI KASTRO: SHRINE IN ST. GEORGE.

work round the arch and in the gable seem clearly Saracenic. At all events, in style and execution this frame is as perfect and beautiful as that in Ἁγια Παρασκευή is rude and primitive. The same people cannot have carved both monuments.

Perhaps the workman who carved scroll patterns on either side of the

door of the church of the Ζωοδόχος Πηγή (Fig. 2) was trying to imitate the design of this openwork tracery. The frame of St. George then cannot be Frankish, if we decide, as is most probable, that the sculptures previously described are Frankish. Nor indeed can it be Byzantine, being utterly unlike any Byzantine work hitherto known. It must then be assumed that this work is Saracenic. This view is on the whole probable: we know that Saracenic and Turkish mercenaries were hired by William de Villehardouin, and that they actually settled in two places in the Peloponnesus, 'στοῦ Βουνάρβη and 'στην Ρένταν.[1] We may then decide that this superb frame, which for beauty of design, style, and execution cannot be surpassed by any similar monument in Greece, is the work of some Saracen artists done for their Frankish masters. We may assign these Frankish sculptures and the frame of St. George to the time between 1209 and 1269.

In 1209 the Franks under de Champlitte conquered the Peloponnese, and the barony of Geráki was founded. The sculpture at Geráki probably dates from not long after that year. The Parori relief may reasonably be later, if it came from Mistra, since that castle was not built till after the capture of Monemvasia about 1249.[2] There is also a fixed date after which Frankish work is not likely to have been made in Laconia. In 1259 William de Villehardouin was taken prisoner at the disastrous battle of Pelagonia.[3] Three years later to regain his freedom he ceded to the Emperor Michael VIII. the fortresses of Mistra, Maina, and Monemvasia, and the castle of Geráki.[4] Therefore it is not probable that any of this sculpture is later than 1262.

I know of no work in Greece similar to these sculptures, but remains of the Frankish period are little known, nor have I been able to find any analogies outside Greece. My excuse for offering the above remarks on these interesting monuments is my desire to render them more accessible to those competent to discuss them.

ALAN J. B. WACE.

[1] Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, *l.* 5738. The only difficulty is that they did not enter his service till 1265. However de Villehardouin was in Cyprus in 1249, and may have enlisted Saracens then. There is no reason to suppose there could be no Saracens in the Peloponnese before 1265. It is just possible that Nerio I Acciajuoli, who was Baron of Nivelet as well as Duke of Athens, and father-in-law of Theodore I Palaeologus of Mistra, may have been allowed to erect a monument a Geráki. The Acciajuoli, like most parvenus, were doubtless anxious to connect their real barony of Nivelet with the older barony of Geráki.

[2] Finlay, *op. cit.* iv. p. 197. [3] Id. *ibid.* p. 201. [4] Pachymeres i. 88.

A VOTIVE RELIEF TO ASCLEPIUS.

FIG. 1.

(*a*) THE COMPLETE STELE WITH SANDAL AFFIXED (about 1 : 20).
(*b*) THE SANDAL DETACHED (about 1 : 5).

THE National Museum of Athens has recently acquired a votive relief of a remarkable and perhaps unique character. It was found in Athens in

January, 1904, during the excavation of a cellar in the house of E. Bosnopoulos, situated to the south of the Military Hospital and not far from the Asclepieion, whence it is likely that it was brought. In accordance with the Greek law of antiquities it was deposited in the Museum and has now been set up in the Hall of Votive Reliefs.

It consists of a tall marble stele, 2·39 metres high, broken into two pieces and incomplete at the bottom. The height of the lower part or shaft of the stele is 1·86 m., that of the capital ·56 m., the width of the

FIG. 2.—THE CAPITAL, SHOWING HOLES FOR THE ATTACHMENT OF THE SANDAL (about 1 : 8).

capital ·31 m. Up the face of the shaft there crawls a large snake, carved in relief, the head of which reaches to the point where the shaft broadens into the capital. The length of the snake is 1·82 m.; part of its tail is missing. It is worked with remarkable vigour and its whole movement is thoroughly natural. In details, however, the treatment is careless and superficial. It may date from the beginning of the third century before our era.

Above the snake is the inscription ΣΙΑΩΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ, the first nine letters on the face, and the three last on the right-hand edge. The stele appears to have been set up against a wall, or partly sunk in a wall, because the back and the sides behind the line to which the three letters just mentioned extend have been left rough. The more carefully worked strip on the sides has a breadth of ·035 m.

On the upper part of the stele, and occupying most of its surface, was affixed by means of two nails a small slab in the form of a sandal. The full height of the sandal is 0·51 m., greatest width 0·22 m., narrowest part 0·145 m. On the face of this slab is the figure of a bearded man in low relief, seen in profile to the right. He has a long beard and hair tied with a *taenia*. He wears a long and closely folded *himation*, which leaves the whole of his right arm and shoulder and part of his chest uncovered. His weight rests on the left leg, the right being bent at the knee so as to raise the heel. In his left hand he probably held a staff, as may be inferred both from the position of the arm and from traces of colour still visible at the time of the discovery. The right hand is raised in reverent supplication before the god in whose precinct the offering was dedicated.

Besides the carving of a human figure the surface of this marble shoe exhibits five sinkings of different and irregular shapes. The uppermost is bow-shaped, measuring ·20 m. round the arc and ·14 m. across the chord. That to the left is conical, ·105 m. long and from ·005 m. to ·002 m. broad. The lower one is rectangular, ·04 m. by ·01 m. Of the two on the right, the upper is likewise conical, ·06 m. high and ·025 m. broad, the lower one measuring ·03 m. by ·023 m.

Curious as is the whole find, these sinkings from the first appeared its most curious feature. A study of them has convinced me that they represent in the only possible way the openings in the sandal in which its straps were fastened. Anyone who will examine the sandals represented on ancient works of art, and particularly those on the bronze feet from Antikythera, will see that the openings for the attachment of the straps to the sole correspond exactly to the cavities on our slab.

An opinion which has been expressed that these cavities were used for the attachment of votive offerings need hardly be discussed seriously, since in any case they are too shallow to have served such a purpose.

This votive stele comes no doubt from the precinct of Asclepius, the so-called 'Asclepieion in the City.' It was found in a disturbed deposit of

earth and other materials which had been brought from a distance.[1] It formed part then of the host of votive offerings adorning that sanctuary, which despite the late date of its foundation (420 B.C.) soon became one of the most famous Asclepieia in Greece.

Votive offerings in sanctuaries, especially those dedicated to the divinities of healing, varied widely both in form and spirit. Some were offered not in return for the cure of disease, but, so to speak, proleptically, in order to induce the god to avert all disease from the dedicator; for this reason a sacrifice was offered to the god, and the sacrifice followed by the dedication of a relief commemorating it. In other cases the cured testified their gratitude by a hymn to the healing god; such is the hymn found in the Athenian Asclepieion engraved on a great block of Hymettian marble, which is composed as strophe, antistrophe, and epode, and includes praise, prayer, and thanksgiving; this was set up by Diophantus the Sphettian who was cured of acute gout. In the same way were set up statues, either of the cured or of the physician who had healed them, like that of Polycritus of Mende which stands in the city Asclepieion. Others again set up reliefs representing the patient in the process, or at the moment, of cure. Besides these, the dedication of parts of the body cured, eyes, ears, tongues, hands, feet, hearts, etc., is of very frequent occurrence.

Our dedication was seen from the first to be connected with the cure of feet. The marble sandal was first interpreted as the sole of a foot, and it was thought that the healing of diseased feet had prompted the dedication of the grateful patient. The relief was thus considered as a slight variation from the votive feet which have been found on various sites,[2] and was especially compared with a relief, discovered in the course of the Enneacrounos excavations of the German Institute; this shows a man holding in both hands a disproportionately large leg, which he offers to the god. But if the relief we are discussing has any analogy with this, why should not Silon dedicate a relief showing the healed foot itself? and why should the artist wish to break away from the custom, consecrated by long

[1] I have been informed by a person who lives near the scene o the discovery and has a turn for antiquities, that there must have been a healing spring dedicated to some goddess in this quarter, since certain sculptures and votive offerings and other remains were found there many years ago. But the spot which he showed me is almost as far off as is the Asclepieion from the house of Bosnopoulos where the relie. was discovered.

[2] As for example a marble base with the type of two feet found in Delos, and the numerous feet found in many of the sanctuaries of Asia Minor and Lesbos.

tradition and almost inviolable, according to which the patient, wishing to make his offering explain his complaint, dedicated a representation in relief of the part of the body affected?

Conze, speaking of the various votive feet found in the sanctuaries of Asia Minor and especially Lesbos, demonstrates that most of them were not dedicated as thank-offerings for the cure of feet, but rather as memorials of the journey of pilgrims who had visited the shrine. Though in regard to some [1] at least of the dedications mentioned by Conze we venture to doubt the opinion he expresses, in the case of our own relief we might argue with some plausibility that Silon set it up as a memorial of his journey (possibly a long one) and visit to the Asclepieion, and that he represented himself on the sandal because he was permitted to enter the sanctuary.

I venture, however, to submit the following hypothesis on the subject of this curious discovery. That Christianity borrowed much, especially in ritual and art, from ancient Hellenism is so well known that I will spare the reader a discussion of the point. The Christian Greek churches which possess miracle-working pictures are full of dedications of all sorts, chiefly in silver, including representations of feet, hands, eyes, etc. In one case I saw a shoe, about which I was informed that the dedicator, attacked and bitten in the foot by a snake, was saved by the shoe he wore. May it not be that our dedication was called forth by similar circumstances? Such a theory is both probable in itself and entirely in keeping with what we have said as to the occasions which prompted dedications in the ancient shrines.

G. P. BYZANTINOS.

[1] As for example, a tablet discovered in Phrygia with the type of two feet and the following inscription below :—

'Αρτέμιδι 'Ανάειτι καὶ Μηνὶ
Τιάμου Μελτίνη ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁλοκληρίας
Τῶν ποδῶν εὐχὴν ἀνέστησε.

NOTE ON THE LION-GROUP FROM CYZICUS.

THREE years ago I published (*B.S.A.* viii. 192, Pl. IV.$_2$) a fragmentary relief from Cyzicus representing two lions back to back, standing over two bulls, the whole forming a symmetrical 'heraldic' composition. While attempting to connect the group with the worship of Cybele Adrasteia, I overlooked at the time an article of Mr. Crowfoot's[1] having a considerable bearing on the subject, and perhaps contributing to the solution of a question still untouched, *viz.* the application of the obviously decorative sculpture.

Mr. Crowfoot taking as his text the *ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων λεόντων ἔφεδρε* of Sophocles[2] proceeds to interpret the epithet as reminiscent of a statue of the Great Mother decorated like the Sabouroff relief[3] with a frieze of lions and bulls along the base of the throne.

The Cyzicene lion-group may well have occupied a similar position: its scheme, unlike that of the majority of these symmetrical compositions, is not pedimental; any restoration must culminate in the two top corners formed by the lions' heads. This shape is perfectly suitable for the front of a throne, the centre of interest being the goddess herself in the space left between the lions. The treatment of the ends as projections in the round is thus explicable without assuming that the rest of the block was worked on both sides.

There remains the question as to how the goddess herself is to be restored. Not only the seated, but the standing type must be considered,

[1] *J.H.S.* 1900, 118 ff. [2] *Phil.* 400.

[3] Vol. ii. Pl. CXXXVI. In view of the connection established by this relief, it may be regarded as more than a coincidence that Dr. Wiegand found in the same churchyard (near Brusa) a dedication to Nemesis and a lion and bull relief (*Ath. Mitth.* 1904, p. 311).

since the throne does not necessarily postulate a seated goddess, and since the neighbouring cultus-image of Dindymene was in all probability, as Amelung has shewn,[1] a standing figure. Moreover a seated goddess might be dwarfed by the lions rising high on either side of her. Though we have no exact parallel for the type thus suggested, it combines the peculiarities of several existent monuments: we find:—

(1) The goddess standing supported on two lions (bronze mirror handle, *B.C.H.* xxii. Pl. III.):

(2) The goddess standing between two lions facing outwards (one variety of the *ποτνία θηρῶν* type):

(3) The goddess enthroned with lions and bulls on the base of the throne (Sabouroff relief):

so that the restoration seems to me not improbable.

I may here add to my note on the Imperial coins of Cyzicus bearing the lion and bull group[2] the suggestion that the group there represented was the one afterwards set up in the Bucoleon harbour of Constantinople.[3] The type is one which rarely occurs on Imperial coins, and the cited pieces dating from Gallienus shew that the group existed down to the middle of the third century; we know further that Constantine removed at least one statue from Cyzicus.[4]

F. W. HASLUCK

[1] *Röm. Mitth.* 1897. 8, 2.
[2] Imhoof, *Kleinas. Münzen*, i. 26. 15-17 (*Aurelius*), 16, 17 (*Gallienus*).
[3] Millingen, *Walls of Constantinople*, pp. 271 ff.; *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* v. 72, note 27.
[4] The Dindymene cultus-image mentioned above.

AN APOLLO INSCRIPTION FROM THE DISTRICT OF DELIUM.

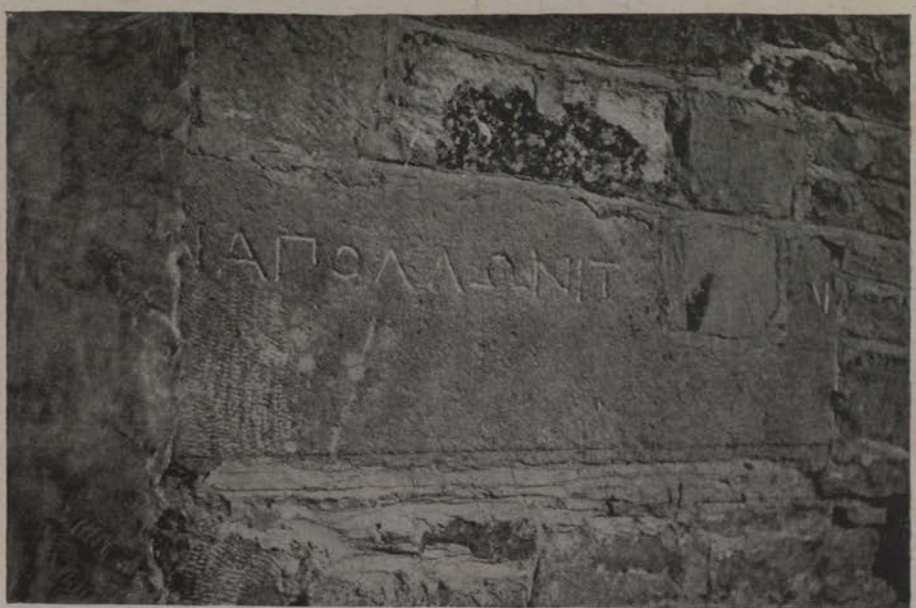


FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION *in situ*.

WHILE searching the seacoast district north-east of Tanagra for traces of the Temple of Apollo at Delium, I came across what may prove to be an important inscription. On a low hill two or three miles North East of Tanagra and about as far West South West of Dilisi, the orthodox site for Delium, stands the small chapel of Hagios Demetrios.[1]

[1] About ten minutes' walk to the North East o. Schimatari Junction, where the new railway line to Chalcis branches off from that which leads to Schimatari village and, ultimately, to Thebes.

A dedication on the west side, by the doorway, states that it was built in 1903 by Georgios Papametrou of Liatani, a village close to the ancient Tanagra. This, however, was only the rebuilding of an ancient Byzantine chapel that had fallen into decay; and the engraved blocks that can now be seen built into the walls were found at the time in the ruins on the spot.[1] Other architectural fragments still lie on the ground outside, and some stand in the chapel itself as tables for candles and votive offerings. I do not propose to give here any description of these various mouldings, column bases, and column capitals, most of them certainly Byzantine, some perhaps late Classical.[2] In the present paper I shall only publish the Inscription built into the west corner of the south side of the chapel.[3] It runs thus:

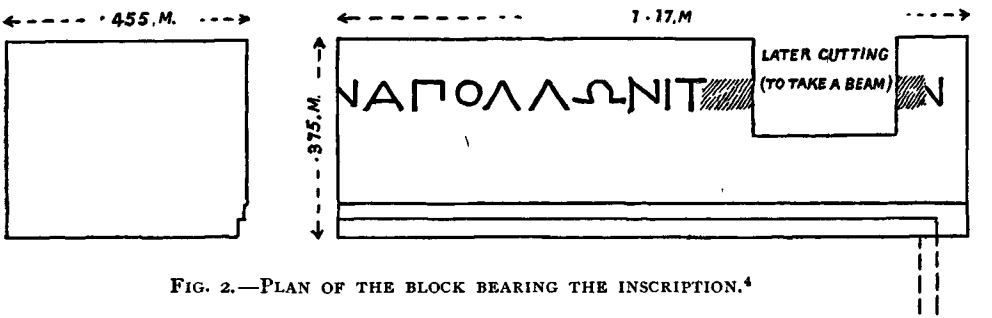


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF THE BLOCK BEARING THE INSCRIPTION.[4]

The T happily puts out of the question that the word should be completed as Apollonidas or Apollonios, names which are both found in the Tanagra district.[5] We have here without doubt a dedication to Apollo. The space left between the T and the truncated N is exactly right for τ[ὸν ναό]ν, too short for τ[ὸν σηκό]ν or τ[ὴν θύρα]ν. The remains of

[1] So Mr. Papametrou's son informed me on the day I first saw it, April 24, 1905. His father has since made the same statement to Mr. R. C. Bosanquet.

[2] A grant from the Craven Fund of the University of Oxford will make it possible for excavations to be carried out on the site during the spring of 1906 by Mr. A. C. Brown and other members of the British School at Athens, and plan and details may be reserved for the examination which will then be made of the whole neighbourhood. I must express my gratitude to Mr. J. L. Myres for the suggestion to which this grant is due. I am myself unfortunately unable to visit Greece again this spring.

[3] The accompanying photograph and drawing are due to the kindness of Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Director of the British School at Athens.

[4] Scale, 1 : 10, Letters ·06 m. high. Last stroke of N, ·045 to ·05 high.

[5] *I.G.S.* (=*I.G.* vii.) 791 and 794.

the first N (the cross stroke which bars out an I is clearer on the spot than in the photograph) suggest a verb, [*ἀνέθηκα*]*ν* or more probably [*ἐποίησα*]*ν*,[1] or the corresponding form in the singular.

Mr. R. C. Bosanquet points out that the mouldings on the lower edge of the stone suggest that it may have been a lintel over the doorway into a Temple or Enclosure. If the moulding on the right was returned downwards, as indicated in the dotted lines of his drawing, the stone must originally have been longer on the right, or else the bearing would be insufficient. If so, however, the absent end was probably uninscribed, as there is no trace of lettering on the well-preserved surface that follows the last N. On the left the stone has certainly been recut recently, and was probably at least half as long again. The name of the founder or founders would be cut on the stone immediately above ours. The date of the Inscription, so far as we can judge from the lettering, is probably the fourth century B.C. but possibly a little later.[2]

To what Temple of Apollo then does our inscription belong? Our choice is, in the circumstances, limited to two: the Temple at Tanagra, in which, according to Pausanias, Apollo was associated with Leto and Artemis,[3] and the famous Temple of Delium. Tanagra was such a rich stone quarry for the whole neighbourhood[4] that we cannot

[1] So *I.G.A.* 509 (Roberts, i. 110) Κλεο[*μέν*]*ης ἐποίησε τὠπ*[*έλ*(*λ*)]*ωνι*, on the steps of the Temple of Apollo at Syracuse.

[2] So Mr. Bosanquet, and also Professor Ernest Gardner, who has kindly examined the photographs and drawing for me. He notices in particular the N and rather small O.

[3] Paus. ix. 22. 1. Nothing further seems to be known about this Temple. See *B.C.H.* 1878, p. 339. There are inscriptions found at Tanagra relating to Artemis, e.g. *I.G.S.* (=*I.G.* vii.) 555. *Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰλειθυίῃ* and *ib.* 546 *Ἀρτάμιδος*. There was, however, a celebrated shrine of Artemis in the Tanagraean territory, at Aulis. Thus *ib.* 565 honours a woman *ἱερατεύσασαν Ἀρτέμιδι Αὐλιδείᾳ* and the representations of Artemis on Imperial Coins of Tanagra (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 9) clearly refer to that Temple. On the rim of a *λέβης* found at Tanagra we read *Δεμοθεφες ἱαρον Απολονος Καρυκεϝιο*, which Mr. Kouroniotes in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 107 suggests may refer to a cult of Apollo at Tanagra. He compares Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1896, p. 243=*B.C.H.* 1896, pp. 242–3.

A comparison of Pausanias' two short 'notebook' statements in different chapters (22. 1 and 20. 1) as to the conjunction of Artemis and Leto with Apollo 'at Tanagra,' and their worship 'at Delium in the territory at Tanagra' gives an uneasy feeling that there may possibly here be a doublet. Curiously enough Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner in their Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias (*J.H.S.* viii. p. 11), when discussing the archaic figure of Apollo that appears on an Imperial Coin of Tanagra and arguing that it may be a copy of the statue at Delium, quote, not ix. 20. 1, but ix. 22. 1. Is that a slip, or a tacit anticipation of the suggestion here thrown out?

[4] Stones were taken from Tanagra as far as the modern Oropo. See Milchhoeffer in Curtius and Kaupert's *Attika*, Text, Heft. ix. p. 25 and *I.G.S.* (=*I.G.* vii.) 510–512. The black stone,

exclude the former possibility. But our site is a long way from Tanagra, and if there is any ground for supposing that the inscription was not brought by the Byzantine chapel builders from a distance, but that the Temple in question was actually on the spot, there is no doubt that it must have been that of Delium.

It is this possibility that we must now face. It must be admitted at the outset that, while it is uncertain whether the impending excavations will give us material for coming to a definite conclusion, without excavation any such conclusion is premature. I shall here only point out some considerations which make it at least a possible hypothesis, that our chapel marks the actual site of the Temple of Apollo at Delium. Whether or no this particular hypothesis prove to be the correct one, the discussion will show, I think, that existing ideas on the whole subject require modification, and will thus clear the ground for future enquiry.

In the first place the chapel is surrounded by an oblong 'mandra,' about 150 feet long, by 90 broad, consisting of a wall of squared stones each 2 feet, 7 or 8 long, by 1 foot, 8 high, and 1 foot, 4 deep. For a considerable portion of one of the long sides the first course is still standing. The work, as Mr. Bosanquet remarked, seems too good for a Byzantine churchyard or monastery court. The hard, gritty freestone, too, called *μυλόπετρα* or *ἀμμόπετρα*, is of the same material as the Apollo stone, though somewhat coarser. The best quality would naturally be taken for a principal feature, such as a doorway. Again, outside the *τέμενος* wall, about 35 feet to the west, lies an old well, principally rock-cut, but with remains of masonry, Our thoughts naturally turn to the accusation brought by the Thebans against the Athenians, *ὕδωρ ὃ ἦν ἄψαυστόν σφισι πλὴν πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ χέρνιβι χρῆσθαι ἀναστάσαντας ὑδρεύεσθαι.*[1]

It simplifies matters to some extent that, from the archaeological point of view, there is no rival site in the field. The well close to the shore in the valley of Dilisi has some large squared blocks lying near it,[2] and, a considerable way off, in a little ruined chapel on the coast road to Oropus, H. N. Ulrichs saw some more blocks, a white marble

some blocks of which lie round our chapel, is like that which was quarried near Tanagra and used there in great quantities. It was, however, common to the neighbourhood, and does not necessarily imply the bringing of stones from other buildings.

[1] T. iv. 97. 2. [2] Frazer, *Pausanias*, v. p. 75.

moulding, and a small Doric capital.[1] He would, however, I am sure, have been the first to acknowledge that these disjecta membra do not constitute a Temple site. With all its obvious suggestiveness of name Dilisi has claimed the attention of scholars from the first, and it is significant that it has never yielded the smallest hint of Temple foundations.

It is not, however, its name alone that has made Dilisi the orthodox position for Delium.[2] The obvious inference from the statements of almost all ancient authorities is that Delium was on the sea, and, on the sea, no more natural position can be found than Dilisi. Pausanias[3] says ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ταναγραίας ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ καλούμενον Δήλιον, Strabo[4] describes it as in the παραλία between Oropus and Βαθὺς λιμήν, Herodotus as[5] ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Livy[6] as imminens mari. Thucydides, too, in his narrative in the Fourth Book, though he never actually says it was on the sea, would probably to most readers give a first impression to that effect. To this formidable array of authorities there can be opposed, so far as I am aware, no direct literary evidence but that of Claudius Ptolemaeus, who in his Geography classes Delium as in the μεσογεία, and not in the παραλία of Boeotia.[7] It may well seem, in view of all this, that a site like ours, about two miles from the present coast line, is scarcely worth consideration.

When, however, we examine all this testimony a little closer, it proves to be less overwhelming than it seemed at first sight. There is in much of it a lack of first hand knowledge of the ground. Herodotus, for instance, combines with the statement that Delium was ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ another that it was Χαλκίδος καταντίον. If the one is inexact for our Chapel, the other is more seriously inexact for Dilisi, which, by no stretch of language, could be properly said to face Chalcis. His third statement that it belonged to Thebes is, rightly or wrongly, tacitly corrected by Pausanias in the Tenth Book. He incidentally mentions Delium à propos the piety of Datis, and clearly has Herodotus before him at the time.[8] It is possible

[1] *Reisen und Forschungen*, vol. ii. (1863) p. 46. He also saw remains of a jetty or pier, which is good evidence for a port, but throws no light on the Temple. See below, p. 159, n. 5.

[2] So Leake, *Northern Greece*, ii. p. 453. Bursian, *Geog.* i. pp. 218–9. Frazer, *loc. cit.* and all modern Histories and Guide Books. Ross, *Wanderungen*, p. 105 argued for Dramesi, a village on the coast nearer to Aulis, and Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 678 doubted between the two, but their grounds were insufficient.

[3] ix. 20. 1.

[4] ix. p. 403. Scylax *Periplus* 59 should be added. For a discussion as to its value, see Tozer, *Hist. Ancient Geog.* p. 119.

[5] vi. 118. [6] xxxv. 51. [7] See Appendix A.

[8] x. 28. 6. ἀπέδωκεν Ταναγραίοις ἐς Δήλιον. He would naturally assume that Herodotus had

that the ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ of Pausanias' Ninth Book is also taken straight over from that of Herodotus. It is clear from his one meagre sentence of description, as well as from the probabilities of the case, that the nearest sight Pausanias had of Delium was from Tanagra. Delium, whatever site we choose for it, was off the main routes. Athens to Thebes, Thebes to Chalcis, Chalcis to Tanagra, all leave it on one side. Pausanias went from Mycalessus to Aulis, and did not even turn out of his way to see Chalcis.[1] We may be sure that if Delium had tempted him off the direct route from Aulis to Tanagra, he would have given us more personal reminiscences of a place whose history he mentions incidentally in four other passages of his book. Strabo again is notoriously not first hand evidence for this part of Greece.[2] He states here that Delium was thirty stades from Aulis, and his credit as to his distances can only be saved by altering Αὐλίδος διέχον σταδίους τριάκοντα to Εὐβοίας.[3] Such a change is not only drastic in itself, but is rendered less probable by the fact that he has used the word διάπλους in the two immediately preceding cases where he is estimating the distance from the mainland to Euboea. His words εἶτα Δήλιον τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος . . . Ταναγραίων πολίχνιον . . . ὅπου μάχῃ λειφθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι προτροπάδην ἔφυγον show that he is speaking loosely. The battle was not at the Temple, nor is a Temple a πολίχνιον.

The last point reminds us that Stephanus of Byzantium[4] also calls Delium a πολίχνιον Βοιωτίας ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, and that his mention of Δηλιεύς as the name borne by its inhabitants adds definiteness to his statement.

Now Thucydides gives us no hint or suggestion that there was in his time a πολίχνιον near or associated with the Temple. In the first passage in which

made a slip here, from his knowledge of the political situation as it existed in his own day. He would also remember the monument at Athens (i. 29. 13) and the narrative of Thucydides which showed that Delium belonged to Athens in the Peloponnesian War (iii. 6. 1, ix. 6. 3, cp. vi. 19. 5). We cannot assume, however, that there is no truth in Herodotus' statement. From coins (B.M.Cat. *Central Greece*, Introduction, xxxviii.) we learn one phase of the internal politics of Boeotia from B.C. 480 to 456, the aggrandisement of Tanagra at the expense of Thebes. Mr. Percy Ure has suggested to me that here in the δι' ἑτέων εἴκοσι of Herodotus (vi. 118), we may have an echo of a counter move on the part of Thebes. The action of Sparta in 457 would be in support of this policy, and perhaps consequent on the hostility it had aroused.

[1] Paus. ix. 19. 5. I hope to discuss this portion of his route later in a separate article.

[2] So A. Vogel in *Philologus*, 1882, p. 516; Niese in *Hermes*, 1878, p. 43; Tozer, *Selections from Strabo*, p. 18. A plea for a visit to Elis is urged by Schroeter, *De Strabonis Itineribus*, 1874, but Frazer, *Paus.* i. Introduction xci is right when he sums up: 'It is generally recognized that Strabo visited very few parts of Greece, perhaps none but Corinth.'

[3] So Ulrichs, *op. cit.* p. 47, n. 1.

[4] See Appendix B.

he mentions the place he defines it as Δήλιον . . τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, and later, when he begins to describe the actual events that happened there, he repeats the same words.[1] He thus draws attention to the fact that the Delium to which the Athenians went was not a place which had derived its name from a Temple of Apollo, but was in fact that Temple. We may notice, however, that though his words make it improbable that it was a place of residence at the time, it can be reasonably inferred from another part of his narrative that it had been in the past. For the Athenians got stones and bricks for fortifying the Temple from 'the house foundations' or 'shells of houses' in the neighbourhood.[2] The word οἰκόπεδον means a ground-plan, which is either the basis of a new οἰκία, or all that remains of a ruined one. The context shows that it is the latter that is here suggested. We can scarcely fail to connect Thucydides' use of the word with his further statement, three lines below, that the Temple itself was in bad repair: ἦπερ γὰρ ἦν στοά, καταπεπτώκει.[3] All this may of course only mean that the Temple and its neighbouring residents had alike fallen upon bad days, and that it was in later times that there arose there something worth calling a πολίχνιον. In that case, if our site prove to be correct, the impression that we receive from ancient writers of nearness to the sea may merely be due to the fact that the whole coast district round Delium belonged either to the Temple or its neighbours, and was ordinarily known by its name.[4] It is, however, possible that Thucydides' dismantled houses may point to a more special reason. The neighbouring inhabitants may have moved nearer to the sea[5] and crystallized into a πολίχνιον, while the Temple, though little frequented, still remained on its

[1] iv. 76. 4 and 90. 1. This repeated insistence on the definition attracted the notice of Classen, who proposed, without MS. authority, to excise it in the second passage. He remarks that if Thucydides had wished to give the 'superfluous' explanation, he would certainly have attached it to the general expression of direction, ἐπὶ τὸ Δήλιον, which immediately precedes it. So he probably would, if there had not been some special reason, such as has been suggested.

[2] See Appendix C.

[3] T. iv. 90. 2.

[4] As the whole district of Artemisium was called after its Temple (Hdt. vii. 176, quoted above). So the coast by Delium itself was sometimes called Tanagra. Diitrephes (T. vii. 29. 2), before passing the Euripus, landed his Thracians ἐς τὴν Τάναγραν. For the Temple property, notice the sacred 'lucus' in Livy, xxxv. 51.

[5] For the general tendency, see T. i. 7. 7. It affected cities already crystallized, such as Athens, but naturally took a different form. The special cause in this case may have been the expansion of Tanagra and its need of a further outlet to the sea. The Valley of Dilisi would serve for such a purpose. It has been already noticed that the only important remains found there by Ulrichs were those of a jetty or pier, see above p. 157, n. 1.

ancient consecrated site.[1] Both alike would be called Delium, and confusion would be easy.[2]

If this were the case it would account for the fact that Thucydides, though definite enough in his statements that the Delium the Athenians went to was the Temple of Apollo, is curiously vague as to the question whether or no it was on the sea. When he first mentions it he has just been describing Siphae and calling it *ἐπιθαλασσίδιοι*.[3] But when he comes to Delium he makes no such definite statement. It is 'The Temple of Apollo in the territory of Tanagra *which faces Euboea*.' Elsewhere he uses the words of territory which without doubt included the immediate 'hinterland' as well as the actual coast line.[4]

Again, at the end of the battle, Thucydides says that the Athenians fled *οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Δήλιόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὠρωποῦ, ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος*. What does this imply? Certainly that there were three main directions of flight, that the body which fled towards Delium and the sea formed one stream to start with. But does it necessarily imply that it kept together to the end, that Delium was the point where it reached the sea? It would be rash to assert that *τε καί* could never bear this force in expressions of direction; but an examination of Thucydides' usage on the point shows that, if that were his meaning, he would naturally have used the simple *καί*, whereas *τε καί* has, in such phrases, usually, if not always, a disjunctive force.[5] It is interesting to notice that two later Greek writers took this for granted. Athenaeus[6] is quoting Thucydides at first hand and he paraphrases him thus: *οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Δήλιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ Ὠρωπόν, οἱ δὲ <ἐπὶ* (Meineke) *πρὸς* (Kaibel)*> Πάρνηθα τὸ ὄρος*. Diodorus, too, is probably giving us the impression that Thucydides made on Ephorus, when he says[7]

[1] It was still a centre of worship. T. iv. 97. 2, 98. 2.

[2] This would affect Herodotus as well as Thucydides.

[3] iv. 76. 3. We must remember that it is not only improbable but almost impossible that Thucydides was at Delium. He must have already started for Thasos (iv. 104. 3).

[4] iv. 76. 4. *πρὸς Εὔβοιαν τετραμμένον*. See ii. 55. 2 and especially vii. 58. 1. *τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Λιβύην μέρος τετραμμένον νεμόμενοι*.

[5] See Appendix D.

[6] 216 A. That Athenaeus has got Thucydides' own narrative in his mind, if not before him, is shown by his using his direct words, especially where Pagondas sends round *δύο τέλη ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς*. Below he has a variant *οἱ ἱππεῖς οἵ τε αὐτῶν* (*ὅτι ἑαυτῶν* is clearly a MS error) *καὶ Λοκρῶν* for Thucydides' . . . *καὶ οἱ Λοκροί*. It is improbable that Herodicus *ὁ Κρατήτειος*, whom he has just been using, had occasion to quote Thucydides at such length.

[7] xii. 70. 4. For Ephorus as source of Diodorus, see Busolt, *Gr. G.* iii. 2, pp. 707–710;

οἱ μὲν εἰς Ὠρωπόν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Δήλιον κατέφυγον, τινὲς δὲ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν διέτειναν πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ναῦς. The only other alternative is that Ephorus was using an independent, perhaps Boeotian, source for the battle, which would lend even more importance to the distinction thus made between Delium and the sea.[1]

Before, however, we follow up Thucydides' narrative further, we must deal with our remaining authority, Livy. Though it would not be maintained by anyone that he had himself visited the site, his description occurs in that part of his History in which he generally makes use of Polybius as his chief source. It is as probable as not that Polybius knew the ground, and Polybius may be his authority. If then 'imminens mari' means nothing but 'close to the sea,' it is a strong argument against any site in a position such as ours. An examination, however, of the eight passages in which Livy's use of the word is local or quasi-local, reveals something quite different. The essential force of the word is with him not 'close to,' but 'overlooking,' 'commanding.' A place which commands another is naturally often also close to it. But in one passage the distance between the positions referred to is about as far as that of our site from the sea, if not farther, while in another it is a matter of over twenty miles, and the word, like our 'commanding,' is used in a purely military sense. There is no single passage of the eight in which the force of superior eminence is lacking.[2] It is not then our site, but the low-lying valley of Dilisi, that fails to answer to this phrase of Livy. He would not have used it if he had not found something in his sources that suggested high ground. None the less it must not be overlooked that the distance at which he places Delium from Tanagra, 'quinque millia passuum,' is about right for the actual coast-line, and considerably too long for our site. If

Beloch, i. p. 19; Volquardsen, *Die Quellen Diod.* 1868; Collmann, *de Diod. fontibus*, 1869. For some modifications of the extreme view, see Bröcker, *Untersuchungen über Diod.* 1879.

[1] For Ephorus' interest in Boeotia, see Diod. xi. 82, Strabo ix. 400, Plut. περὶ Ἀδολεσχίας 22. There are four points in Diodorus' narrative which certainly come from a Boeotian source: (1) § 1. The chosen 300, ἡνίοχοι καὶ παραβάται καλούμενοι. (2) § 3. The Thebans διαφέροντες ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμαις. (3) § 5. The great stoa in the ἀγορά of Thebes decorated with the price of the spoils. (4) § 5. The foundation of the πανήγυρις τῶν Δηλίων cp. *I.G.S.* (=*I.G.* vii.) 20.

There is no reason to doubt the value of these points, but the charge of the Athenian horse at the beginning of the engagement, whether from the same source, or a piece of stock military description due to Ephorus or Diodorus seems inconsistent with Thucydides and improbable in itself. Should one trace a Boeotian version in Plut. *De Gen. Soc.* 11., where Pyrilampes, while a prisoner in Boeotia (cp. Thuc. v. 35), hears the story of Socrates' escape?

[2] See Appendix E.

any site distant from the sea be correct, Livy, like Herodotus, Pausanias, and Strabo, is probably confusing the Temple, either with the whole district called by its name, or more particularly, with the neighbouring *πολίχνιον*.

So far then as the direct descriptions of ancient writers give us data for forming an opinion, we may fairly put the case thus. We should naturally expect the Temple to be on high ground near the sea, certainly nearer than our conjectural site. If there is positive evidence for any such site we may reasonably accept the lines of argument which have been suggested above as adequate to explain the origin of our first impressions.[1] Till then we must suspend our judgment.

Whether or no positive evidence of an archaeological kind will be forthcoming from the impending excavations, either for our site or for other high ground in the neighbourhood, we cannot tell. There is, however, another kind of positive evidence. Apart from direct descriptions of the place, what site is demanded by the military operations which are recorded as happening there?

Of the two incidents that go to make up the military history of Delium, one gives us little help. All that Livy describes could have taken place without difficulty if the Temple was anywhere within walking distance of the sea.[2] The narrative of Thucydides, on the other hand, presents several complicated problems. Why was it, in the first place, that the Athenians went to Delium at all? Why did they choose it

[1] Another partial explanation is conceivable, that the coast-line has changed since classical times. The Geological Maps published by Dr. Alfred Philippson and Dr. T. G. Skuphos (*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, vol. xxv. 1890, p. 406 and xxix. 1894, p. 409) adapted from the same earlier material with independent observations, mark the coast and immediate hinterland from Vathy to the other side of Dilisi as alluvial. Though there does not seem to be enough river action in the district to warrant suggesting that as a cause, the shallow soundings on the Admiralty Charts (1881) may point to the fact that the current of the Euripus drives deposits into the slack water of the Bay. The whole neighbourhood too has been in a seismic zone from the days of Thucydides (iii. 87. 89) to our own. In the earthquake of April, 1894, the coast o Lokris was covered by the sea for an extent of 6 miles long by 300 yards broad (Skuphos, *op. cit.* p. 438), and the half island Gaïdarion was permanently made into an island. The reverse process, the rising of land, is equally possible.

The fact that Geology appeals to History for the dating of other changes on the north-east coast-line of Greece makes this a reasonable line of enquiry. In remarking on the enormous alluvial deposits of the Spercheius, Dr. Philippson (*op. cit.* p. 386) can only fix the geological date by the historical fact that in classical times Thermopylae 'must have been' on the sea.

[2] Quum . . . alii ad spectaculum templi lucique versi, alii in litore inermes vagarentur, magna pars per agros . . . dilapsa esset . . . There is nothing to necessitate the Temple being on the shore.

as an ἐπιτείχισμα? They already had possession of Oropus and its territory, thrust as a wedge into the south-east corner of Boeotia. Two years before, in the summer of 426, they had in fact made it one of their bases for a combined attack on Tanagra, from the sea and from Mount Parnes.[1] It was then probably that the idea first occurred to them, that a permanent ἐπιτείχισμα might effect more durable results. But if they were to exchange the walls of Oropus for the insecurity of hastily extemporized palisades, there must surely be some real advantage to be gained. The new base must be a fine natural position, commanding the Tanagraean plain. This is what the plain of Dilisi, nestling behind its range of hills, conspicuously fails to do. So long as we are content to assume that the Temple stood there, we can only shake our heads over the Athenians' strategy, and conclude that it was as faulty as their tactics in the field. This is not what one would expect of any plan in the initiation of which Demosthenes had a hand.[2] The idea should be a brilliant one, especially from the obvious point of view.

So far, however, it may be urged, we have only reinforced the consideration that the Temple must have stood on a height. Any strong position on the sea, one of the hills for instance, which reach down to it, immediately east of the Valley of Dilisi, would meet the situation. It would have this advantage, too, for a sea-power, that the line of support and retreat would be better secured.

That such a position is impossible is not my contention. Where our data are so contradictory, the whole district is worth searching. None the less there are some considerations which point in the other direction. The *a priori* argument that the Athenians would necessarily choose an ἐπιτείχισμα on the coast cannot be pressed. There is no doubt whatever, as Busolt has forcibly pointed out,[3] that when, only a year before, Nicias landed in Corinthian territory, his sole object was to establish such an ἐπιτείχισμα on the Hill of Solygeia. The Corinthians realized his design and thwarted it; but it remains that he deliberately

[1] T. iii. 91. 3-4. That Skala Oropou and not Oropo is the ancient Fifth Century Oropus is (*pace* Baedeker, ed. 5, 1905, p. 167) clear from Curtius-Kaupert, Text, Heft ix. pp. 23. 4; Frazer, *Paus.* ii. pp. 465-6.

[2] T. iv. 76. 2. So Grote, vi. p. 160, though without getting to close quarters with the topography, assumes that Delium was 'strongly situated, overhanging the sea.' Later writers, such as Frazer and Busolt, have ignored this point.

[3] iii. 2, p. 1114 with note 3.

meant to seize and garrison a hill twelve stades inland,[1] a hill which was no more and no less accessible from the sea than our conjectural site. Again, if the Temple was on the sea, the insignificant part played by the fleet needs explaining. Two years before a considerable part of the force that attacked Tanagra came by sea to Oropus.[2] All the advantages that had existed then in favour of a supporting movement by the fleet would appear to exist now. Except for the 40 ships with Demosthenes at Siphae, we hear of no considerable fleet engaged elsewhere at the time.[3] Yet no part of the attacking force came by sea.[4] The only reason which seems adequate to account for it is that it was realized that a fleet could take no effective part in the operations. This, too, proved to be the case in actual fact after the battle. The Athenians had sixteen days in which to realize the danger their garrison was in,[5] but either they did not think it of any use to send a considerable fleet to support it, or else its strength was not in fact capable of being turned to account. Whatever ships were there did not assist in the defence and only succeeded in taking off a portion of the garrison.[6]

More definite are two indications of direction implied in Thucydides' account of the battle itself. If the Temple was on the coast, in or close to the valley of Dilisi, it is almost certain, as Ulrichs has pointed out,[7] that when

[1] T. iv. 42. 2. For the Topography, see Leake, *Morea*, vol. iii. p. 309, Curtius, *Pelop.* 548 ff. Arnold, *Thuc.* vol. 2, p. 443 and Map at p. 54.

[2] T. iii. 91. 3.

[3] T. iv. 76. 1. There would of course be small squadrons in different parts of the empire, such as Thucydides' seven ships at Thasos (*ib.* 104. 4).

[4] T. iv. 77. 1, 90. 1.

[5] T. iv. 101. 1. It may be asked why they left a garrison in so insecure a position. We can only suppose that they hoped vaguely, as at Plataea, that the Boeotians would fail in a siege.

[6] T. iv. 100. 5. As we do not know how large the garrison was, we can infer nothing further rom Thucydides' one figure, the 200 who were captured.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 49. Another road leads along the sea-shore to the ancient Oropus. But it is certain for more reasons than one that the Athenians were making for Attica, and not for Oropus, and that the battle was not fought on the sea. Many of the fugitives for instance—Socrates and the rest—made for Parnes, and they would not have done so if the walls of Oropus had been on the direct road in front of them. Unless, too, with Grote (vi. p. 161), the battle is placed 25 or 30 stades from Dilisi, at the west extremity of the plain of Oropus, the ground is not suited for the battle. If the Temple is to be placed in or close to the valley of Dilisi, these arguments also apply to a track that runs between the inland and the coast roads and issues at Sykamino, at the head or south-west end of the plain of Oropus. Such a route to the passes of Parnes would be at once much longer and rougher, and would only be the natural one if the Temple were placed on the coast at least a kilometre east of the valley of Dilisi. The heights here are worth exploring. The chief difficulties would be that the position is not a good one or commanding the Tanagraean plain, and the ground at a reasonable distance is over rugged for the battle; the chief advantage,

the Athenians left the Temple and halted about ten stades away to allow Hippocrates to join them, they must have been taking the inland road which issues from the head of the valley of Dilisi and runs south-south-east towards the passes which lead through Parnes into Attica.[1] If they took this road, the position in which they halted was almost directly between the Temple and the city of Tanagra, and quite directly between the Temple and the line of advance which the Boeotians must have taken to intercept them. How then can we account for the fact that the news of this advance was brought to Hippocrates at the Temple, and not to them, and that it was he who had to send a messenger to put them on their guard? Why, too, should Hippocrates, when hurrying to join his army, have left three hundred cavalry behind him 'round Delium' with the double purpose of protecting it and of attacking the Boeotians at a turn in the battle?[2] On the coast near Dilisi they would have been hopelessly out of the way, and could neither have found out what was happening, nor attracted the notice of the enemy.

We have here reached what is the chief—at present perhaps the only—

that it seems more easy to suppose that within ten stades the army would pass into the territory of Oropus. We have no direct evidence as to where the boundary lay (see Curt.-Kaup. *Att.* Text, Heft ix. p. 16). That Oropus had considerable territory to the west of it is suggested by T. ii. 23, 3, where the Spartans, on leaving Attica for Boeotia, ravage territory *ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι, παοιόντες Ὠρωπόν*, passing Oropus. See too Curt.-Kaup. *op. cit.* p. 30 for the Boeotian boundaries south-east of Tanagra. It is difficult to judge how much weight we should attach to the modern line of boundary between the Eparchies of Attica and Thebes, as given in the French Carte de la Grèce, 1852. South of the Asopus it gives ground west of our battlefield to Attica, striking it slightly west of the mediaeval tower on the Hill of Staniates. It then turns one kilometre due east, and after a run of two kilometres almost due north, edges east again, and reaches the sea about one kilometre east of Dilisi. If the exact course of this boundary rests on continuous tradition, it seems slightly against our suggested battleground, which it passes about one kilometre to the east. This line of argument, however, is not supported by the consideration of other facts; such, for instance, as that Eleusis is placed in the Eparchy of Megara, and not in that of Attica.

It must be remembered, further, that the 'boundaries of Oropia' in which the Boeotians saw the Athenian force (T. iv. 91) would not necessarily be the limited ground on which the battle was finally fought, but the considerable space covered by a large army on the march, with its *ψιλοί* (*ib.* 90. 4, 94. 1) spread out in front of it. The casualties, too, mostly occurred during the flight (*ib.* 96. 7, 101. 2) and the great majority of the dead bodies would certainly be in Oropia, even were the battle itself slightly west of it.

[1] Striking the main road about 2½ kilometres east of Staniates Tower. Neither the inland road from Dilisi, nor the present main road, as given in Curtius-Kaupert, *Attika* Kart., Sect. Oropos, No. 9, is marked in the French Map of 1852. In the former case this is probably due to its insignificance, in the latter to its having been made since 1852. The main road, as marked in the French Map, crossed the Asopus nearly three kilometres further east than the present one.

[2] T. iv. 93, 1–2.

positive evidence for placing the Temple in some such position as our hill of Hagios Demetrios. That hill itself suits the narrative in a remarkable manner. It is the outpost of the line of hills that stretch westwards from the valley of Oropus and command the Tanagraean plain. To realise this fact, one has only to view the situation both from the mountains on either side—Kako-Salesi on the south-east on the slopes of Parnes, Megalo Vouno on the north-west above Aulis,—and from the plain, as one approaches Schimatari Junction, for instance, along the line from Thebes. There are traces of an ancient road passing close to Hagios Demetrios, running east-south-east over smooth hill slopes,[1] just clear of the belt of forest ground skirting the sea, from which the road from Dilisi inland ultimately emerges to join it, more than a mile and a half further east. If the main army had marched about ten stades along this road from Hagios Demetrios, the line of advance from Tanagra would have been concealed from it by a ridge of low hills. In such a position, too, it would have formed with Tanagra and with the Temple a triangle whose angles exactly answer to the conditions required. The movements of the Boeotians would inevitably be brought to the notice of Hippocrates sooner than to that of the army, while his disposition of the 300 cavalry becomes explicable. They were in an excellent position for deciding at once whether the Boeotians were making a feint, and all the time meaning to attack the Temple, and whether they themselves could intervene in the battle with effect, and attack on flank or rear. The Boeotians, too, were able to observe their movements and detach a covering force.[2]

It will now naturally be asked whether a description of the battle itself suits any ground that lies about ten stades along the ancient road that ran east-south-east from Hagios Demetrios. It must be confessed that the data given us by Thucydides are here but meagre. The pivot the engagement turns on is a hill, which was big enough for the Boeotians to lie hidden behind it, and not too steep for even cavalry to mount it, and descend the other side.[3] On the Athenian side of this hill was a space

[1] Aristeides Dedouses, who has an intimate knowledge of Tomb excavation in the Tanagra district during the last decades, informed me that lines of ancient tombs have been found along its course. I myself picked up fragments of lustrous black glaze pottery at various points along it. I may mention that Dedouses had never seen the Apollo Inscription till I showed him it on my second visit on April 26.

[2] T. iv. 93. 3.

[3] T. iv. 93. 3, *ὑπερεφάνησαν*; *ib.* 96. 5, *ὑπερφανέντων*.

broad enough for the two bodies of hoplites to form a front of rather over half a mile,[1] and engage, apparently, without difficulty; but at its two extreme ends were what Thucydides calls ῥύακες,[2] which prevented τὰ ἔσχατα ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων from engaging. Now Thucydides directly states what these ἔσχατα were. They were cavalry and light armed troops on the Boeotian side, cavalry on the Athenians.[3] That the cavalry did not engage is also clear from the absence of any mention of them during the battle, except at one point which is in the full sense an exceptio quae probat regulam. The two squadrons that Pagondas sent from his right wing[4] could be spared because they were not being engaged there at all; and they were able to engage in their new position because they did not go as far to the left as the original left cavalry wing, but took the ground of the left centre, the Thespian and Tanagraean heavy infantry. They were the only cavalry on either side who avoided the ῥύακες. Now if it was the cavalry who were kept back by the ῥύακες, it modifies our conception of what they must necessarily mean. There is no need to look for deep permanent clefts or gullies. Any breaks in the ground which in early winter[5] would be filled with water, would be enough to prevent cavalry charges. On the other hand there was clearly room for the whole hoplite force to engage between the ῥύακες. H. N. Ulrichs then was not unreasonable,[6] when he decided that the hill was a more permanent feature of the landscape to look for than the ῥύακες, and saw it in the prominent hill of Staniates, with its mediaeval watch-tower, that stands in the plain by itself about two miles south-south-east of Hagios Demetrios, and three miles east of Tanagra. It is indeed improbable that the Athenians had got so far on their way: it would mean between fifteen and

[1] The Athenians had a front of 875 hoplites (T. iv. 94. 1). The Boeotian hoplite line was shorter because of the depth of the Theban contingent (*ib.* 93. 4), but probably some of their light-armed filled the gap, or possibly the ground narrowed on their side. The surrounding of the Thespians on the Boeotian left (*ib.* 96. 3) may point to the fact that the Athenian hoplite line overlapped on the right. We may be sure that the Thebans, according to the general tendency to guard the unshielded side, would edge to the limit of the rough ground on their right. Delbrück (*Kriegskunst*, pp. 96. 7) remarks that the fact that the Boeotian ψιλοί were stopped by the ῥύακες shows they had not much warlike energy. But the fact was that there were few or no Athenians ψιλοί opposite them (*ib.* T. iv. 94. 1) and such troops had not yet learnt they could interfere in a hoplite engagement. Kromayer (*Antike Schlachtfelder*, p. 321) is probably right in claiming a front of 1 metre for each hoplite as against Delbrück's ·44, though all the reasons he urges for his conclusion need not be accepted.

[2] T. iv. 96. 2. [3] T. iv. 93. 4, 94. 1. [4] T. iv. 96. 5.
[5] T. iv. 89. 1. [6] *op. cit.* p. 49.

twenty stades, rather than about ten, from Hagios Demetrios, and more than twenty from the coast. We need not, however, with Frazer[1] and Busolt,[2] turn to the rough broken forest ground through which the inland road from Dilisi winds before it crosses the road from Hagios Demetrios. With their attention concentrated on the ῥύακες, they have failed to observe that a hill is difficult to find there which answers the conditions required, and that the ground is over steep and thickly wooded for a battle of which the two distinctive features were a successful cavalry charge, and the push of fourteen thousand close-set hoplites. It is between the hill of Staniates and the forest to its north that we find, at a reasonable distance both from the coast and Hagios Demetrios, the sloping arable ground which could make a pitched battle possible. Almost due south of the steep summit called Kiséri[3] the conditions seem adequate as regards the ῥύακες,[4] while the Boeotians could well have formed their order of battle in the tongue of the plain that projects north of Staniates hill, and been concealed by the low hills that lie still further north of it. This position is not out of the question, so far as distance is concerned, if the Temple lay on the coast; but it is rather to the west of the point where the inland road from Dilisi emerges from the forest, and thus a little off the natural route.[5] We should probably have to assume, what is indeed not unlikely, that on debouching from the forest the Athenians spread out to the west of the road rather than to the east, and that, when forming up to face the Boeotians, they edged still further west. On the other hand the ground is not more than twelve stades from Hagios Demetrios, and directly on the road the Athenians would have taken from it. The reasons, too, that led Thucydides to use the peculiar phrase, ἐπὶ τὸ Δήλιόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν for one of the three main directions of the Athenians' flight, becomes easier to understand. The road by which they had just come from the Temple, which on any hypothesis would be one of the ways which fugitives would

[1] Paus. v. p. 76.

[2] III. 2. 1147, n. 1.

[3] The hill on which excavations conducted three years ago laid bare some ancient foundations, probably of houses. Mr. Bosanquet has pointed out that the name clearly refers to the stone quarried there, as Kiséri, ancient κίσηρις, properly means pumice stone, and is then apparently used in Boeotia for a soft light free-stone.

[4] Only with the proviso that no deep gullies are demanded by the situation. The arable ground, too, may well have changed.

[5] There is a rough forest-track further west which is a possible but not probable route from Dilisi.

naturally turn, would in this case be difficult to describe except by some such combination of words. It was the direct road, not to the sea, but to the Temple, and many who fled by it would in the first instance merely think of taking refuge in the fortifications. Some of these would feel on second thoughts that the ships were safer, and would move on by the track which passes close by Hagios Demetrios and runs north-east to the coast at Dilisi. Even those whose object from the first was to reach the ships would remember this cross-road to the sea, and prefer the way they knew to the risks of an unknown forest.

On the whole, therefore, it may fairly be claimed that our conjectural site fits the strategical necessities of the case, if not better than any conceivable site in the neighbourhood, at least better than any site actually on the coast in or close to the valley of Dilisi. The final question of striking a balance between these considerations and those suggested by the descriptions of ancient writers, may well be left till a careful examination of the ground has satisfied us that we are in possession of all the extant evidence.

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APPENDIX.

A.—PAGE 157, NOTE 7.

iii. 14. 15. His assertion seemed so obviously untrue that it has dropped out of all modern statements on the subject. I came across the reference in Drackenborch's *Livy* (1738). Apart from questions of longitude and latitude, where errors of transmission as well as the special difficulties of the subject may be held to account for a good deal, Ptolemaeus makes undoubted mistakes in his lists of inland and coast positions. Thus he places Hyampolis in Boeotia, whereas it is in Phocis. On the other hand he has rescued for us Πάνορμος λιμήν on the east coast of Attica, between Sunium and Thoricus. The only other passage in which I can find it mentioned in antiquity is Isaeus, *de Cleonhered.* 31, and from him it can be only gathered that it was somewhere in Attica. If it had not been for the modern Panorimo (Curt.-Kaup. *Att.* Text, 3–6, 1889, p. 28) we should probably have ignored Ptolemaeus. This point suggests that it is possibly only accident that has lost for us corroboration of Ὕφορμος λιμήν on the west coast of Attica, or of Φῶκαι on the coast of Boeotia, west of Anthedon. The fact too that he places Marathon and Anaphlystus inland, but Ἀρτέμιδος λιμήν (by which he clearly means some point in the district of Brauron) on the coast, may prove, not a careless, but a particularly careful description. See the Topography in Frazer, *Paus.* ii. pp. 440–1 (for Marathon), 445–8 (for Brauron), Curt.-Kaup. *Att.* Text, Heft 3–6, 1889, p. 21 (for Anaphlystus).

The placing of Rhamnus inland, however, cannot be thus justified. See Frazer, ii. pp. 448–455. Can the explanation be that a false inference from the common phrase, 'the Paralia,' led him to class the 'Diakria' with the 'Mesogeia'?

It is thus clear that Ptolemaeus, great man as he was, cannot be relied on as an authority on points of detail in opposition to the other authors we have mentioned. Nor can we press the argumentum ex silentio in Dionysius the son of Calliphon (Müller *Geog. Graec. Min.* i. p. 238) who describes the Boeotian coast-line from S. to N. without mentioning Delium as between Oropus and Aulis.

B.—PAGE 158, NOTE 4.

Ad voc. p. 226, ed. Meineke. *τὸ ἐθνικὸν* Δηλιεὺς *ὡς* Σουνιεύς. The more closely one studies Stephanus the less likely does it appear that this is invented. In the first place the Epitome, which is all we possess for the bulk of the work, is faithful, if inadequate. The twelve articles, from Δύμη to the end of the letter Δ, for which we possess the original work (preserved in the Codex Seguerianus), as well as the Epitome, show us that the latter, though generally giving only from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the original, never in one instance misstates or misrepresents it. In particular, though it omits the quotations made in support of statements (*e.g.* for Δύστος), and even the fact that an author was quoted at all (*e.g.* for Δύνδασον), it is careful to retain the phraseology used by the original whenever it means to convey that an ethnic has not been found in literature but is only guessed at on analogy. See for Δωδών (under Δωδώνη) Δῶρα, Δώριον, Δῶρος.

Further, this phraseology is definite, and occurs often throughout the work. Thus for Δωδών, the original has *ἠδύνατο* Δωδώνιος . . *εἴ τις σχηματίσειεν*, the Epitome *οὐχ εὕρηται, σχηματίζεται δὲ* Δωδώνιος. So too the Epitome has *ὤφειλεν εἶναι* (Σολυγεία, Αἰγόσθενα, Ἀγάθη, etc.), *δύναται* (Ἀδράνη, Ἄβα etc.), *οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν χρήσει ἡ τέχνη δ' ἐπινοεῖ ἐξ ὁμοιότητος* (Ἀβρότονον), *οὔπω τέως εὕρομεν τὰ τῆς χρήσεως* (Αἰμονία). The mere mention of a parallel does not mean guessing by analogy. Thus under Σούνιον, we have Σουνιεύς, which is the favourite parallel for other terminations in *-εύς*, itself followed by *ὡς* Ἰλιεύς. So, too, in the original article on Δώριον, Δωριεύς is followed by *ὡς* Σουνιεύς, in spite of the fact that it is then supported on its merits by direct quotations; and Δωτιάς is given as the feminine of the ethnic of Δώτιον, *ὡς* Ἰλιὰς *τοῦ* Ἰλιεύς, and then supported out of the Peleus of Sophocles. The parallel is in fact a mark of method, and shows, what is clear indeed from the whole work, that the investigation of ethnic names was its main business. Though Δηλιεύς may be due to analogy, it is probably to analogy as it worked, not in the mind of Stephanus, but in those of the original inhabitants *διὰ τὸ πλησιόχωρον* (see Ἄβυδος). For, to apply to Boeotia what Stephanus says of Karia (see Ἀγάθη), *ἡ χώρα τῷ εἰς -εύς τύπῳ χαίρει.* Thus Ἀκραιφιεύς, Θεσπιεύς Θισβεύς, Κορνωεύς Λεβαδεύς, Πλαταιεύς, Χαιρωνεύς, and, on the borders, Εὐβοιεύς, Χαλκιδεύς, Ἀμφισσεύς, Ἐλατεύς, Ἐλευθερεύς.

In conclusion there is no reason for thinking that Stephanus was lavish of cities where there were no cities or thought that every place that existed must have an ethnic. Thus he calls Solygeia a *κώμη* Κορίνθου as Thucydides does (iv. 42), and Σόλλιον a Κορίνθου *πολίχνιον* where Thucydides calls it a *πόλισμα* (ii. 30). For Sunium he says *ὁ δημότης* Σουνιεύς. For Habrotonum he tells us that Lycus of Rhegium calls it a *χωρίον*, but Strabo and others a *πόλις*. For Mount Haemus he gives no ethnic, nor for what some may think the doubtful *πόλις* of Artemisium in Euboea.

C.—PAGE 159, NOTE 2.

λίθους ἅμα καὶ πλίνθον ἐκ τῶν οἰκοπέδων τῶν ἐγγὺς καθαιροῦντες.

The explanation I have given, aedificia diruta, was the dominant one before Poppo. He unfortunately leaned to 'aedificia simpliciter,' and Liddell and Scott ad voc., Grote (vi. p. 161) and Jowett (i. p. 305), translate 'the houses near.' It might have given them pause to notice that this is the only place in which the word is used in Thucydides, while (according to von Essen's *Index*), *οἰκία* occurs thirty-four times. See especially ii. 14 where, when talking of dismantling houses in occupation at the time, he says *αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν ξύλωσιν*. Classen, on the other hand, noticing that the word must have a distinctive meaning, explained 'houses and courtyard walls,' on the ground that you could only get bricks, and not stones, from a house itself. We know too little of country cottages and farmhouses in the Fifth Century to assert this dogmatically. Brick was used for building in the cities because it was cheaper; also because it lent itself to stucco decoration. In the country the roughest kind of stone work might well be natural for house walls as well as for courtyard walls. In any case there was a good deal of stone paving and wall foundation even in city houses. The real point is, however, that, whether or no the word *οἰκία* could be taken, for such a purpose as this, as including its courtyard, there is no justification whatever for their thinking that *οἰκόπεδον* could do so any better. Thucydides would have talked of the *τειχίον* of a *χωρίον* (vii. 81. 3 cp. i. 106. 1) if he had been at pains to be archaeologically accurate as to the provenance of his *λίθοι*. *οἰκόπεδον* means something less than an *οἰκία* vertically, not something more laterally. It is often used in the laying out of a new city. See Dittenberger's *Sylloge* passim, especially vol. i. 1898, no. 177 (=Lebas-Waddington *Insc.* iii. 86) where the *οἰκόπεδα*, or sites for houses, which are to be given to the people of Lebedos who are coming to Teos, are contrasted at length with existing *οἰκίαι*. See also Herwerden *Lexic.* Supp et. Dial. pp. 575, 242. From this the transition is easy to what looks like the site or ground-plan of a house, a shell, or dismantled house. So the explanations of the Lexicographers quoted in Stephanus Thesaurus ad voc., *ἔρημον κατάπτωμα οἴκου, οἰκίας κατερριμμένης ἔδαφος*, and passages such as Aeschines Timarch. 182, where after speaking of a tragedy that occurred in an *ἔρημος οἰκία*, the orator says *καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἕστηκε τὰ οἰκόπεδα ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἄστει*, and Dioscorides iii. 19 where *πράσιον* or horehound *φύεται περὶ τὰ οἰκόπεδα καὶ ἐρείπια*. I know of no passage in which one or other of these two technical meanings does not apply. It is clear that in the present passage the first is excluded, and the second demanded, by the context.

D.—PAGE 160, NOTE 5.

See ii. 55. 2 *τὴν πρὸς Εὔβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην*, ii. 96. 1 *ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινόν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον*. So ii. 101. 5, iv. 54. 4, iv. 129. 2. The simple *καί* is also, of course, used disjunctively, but I have not found any passage in which *τε καί* is used with the same force that the simple *καὶ* is used with; in vii. 30. 1 *ἐπὶ τὸν Εὔριπον καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*, iv. 115. 3 *ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ὥρμησαν* or iii. 98. 2 *μόλις ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Οἰνεῶνα τῆς Λοκρίδος ὅθενπερ καὶ ὡρμήθησαν, κατέφυγον*. There is a curious use in ii. 93. 1 *πρὶν δὲ διαλῦσαι τὸ ἐς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρισαῖον κόλπον ἀναχώρησαν ναυτικόν*, occurring immediately after ii. 92. 7 *ἐσέπλευσαν ἐς κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον καὶ Κόρινθον*. In any case the *τε καί* is disjunctive; it does not mean 'to Corinth on the Crisaean Gulf.' Classen, however, is hardly satisfactory in explaining it as 'to the Crisaean Gulf and, ultimately, to Corinth.' It is of course common to put the ultimate

goal first (cf. iv. 54. 4 ἔπλευσαν ἔς τε Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἦλος). The difficulty is rather in this idiom *not* being adopted a few lines before in 92. 7. That Classen there felt it is shown by his note, 'καὶ (ἐς) Κόρινθον.' Considering the fact, too, that the Peloponnesians were, when they started, at or within the mouth of the Gulf (92. 2, 86. 4), the repeated insistence on the combined phrase is odd, on Classen's explanation. It is in reality, I think, a set phrase attached to the movements of this particular fleet which came from Corinth and other cities on the Gulf. So ii. 83. 1 τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου ναυτικόν, explained more fully as Corinth, Sicyon, etc. in ii. 80. 4. 'To Corinth and the Crisaean Gulf' or 'to the Crisaean Gulf and Corinth,'—for the order was immaterial,—meant 'homewards to the various cities on the Gulf.' So ii. 69. 1 φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν 'κ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν clearly does not mean, as it should, according to Classen, 'from Corinth through the Crisaean Gulf,' but 'from Corinth and other cities in the Gulf.' That the fleet *did* in fact go to Corinth before it disbanded is no argument against my view. 'Before they disbanded the fleet which had started on its way to disband' is quite natural sense.

E.—PAGE 161, NOTE 2.

In xli. 1. The Romans pitch their camp *ad locum Timavi. Imminet mari is lacus.* Later this place is said to be *quinque ferme millia a mari.* That it was on high ground is shown by the *post collem* and *decurrunt* of the next chapter. The pond over the Timavo, which Livy calls a *lacus*, is close to S. Giovanni, and is as the crow flies about a mile from the sea and, following the bend of the river, more than a mile and a half (see Baedeker North Italy, and Admiralty Chart of Adriatic, based on survey of Captain T. Oesterreicher). Even then if we are to regard Livy as applying the phrase to the actual *lacus* and with Cluverius emend the numeral *quinque*, the distance is enough to prove our point. If the numeral is correct, and the phrase is to be applied to the high ground behind the *lacus*, where the Romans did probably in fact pitch their camp, the inference is still more striking.

In xliv. 13. Meliboea, on the spurs of Ossa, (*Guide Joanne*, p. 146, Leake *Northern Greece* iv. pp. 403 ff.) *imminet super* Demetrias on the Gulf of Volo under Pelion (*Mitt. Deut. Arch. Inst.* xxx. 1905, pp. 221–244) about twenty-five miles away. The other instances are iii. 25, *quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminebat*, iv. 59, *collem imminentem urbi*, i. 33 the Mamertine prison on the lower slopes of the Capitol *imminens foro*, ii. 33, buildings *imminentia muro*, shown by the context to be probably built upon or overhanging it, xxiv. 3 the *arx Crotonis* shown by the context to be steep on that side, *imminens mari*, and vi. 19 a quasi-local use, where the house of Manlius on the Capitol is *moles imminens libertati.*

These are the only instances in Schäfer-Ernesti, *Glossarium Livianum.* Fügner's *Lexicon Livianam* has not reached this point.

NOTE.

[Since this Article was written, the excavations it foreshadows have taken place. Their results are negative. The wall of the Mandra proves to be of Byzantine construction, and the archaeological grounds for the provisional identification here suggested are thus cut away. On the other hand, an examination of the neighbourhood has failed to discover any trace of the Temple, at Dilisi or elsewhere. The question is therefore an open one, and the general considerations here brought forward are still to the point.

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A HEAD CONNECTED WITH DAMOPHON.

(PLATE IV.)

IN the Gallery of Busts in the Vatican there is a head (Cat. No. 293[P], Helbig, *Führer durch Rom*, i. p. 144, No. 242) described as the head of a Satyr. It is of *rosso antico*, and was found [1] in a street in Genzano near a spot where a Roman villa had stood. This head (No. 1 on Plate IV.) has a replica, also of rosso antico, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek at Copenhagen (No. 2 on the same Plate), for a description of which I am indebted to Herr Jacobsen. The height of the Roman head is 0·45 m., distance between the ears 0·21 m., between the eyes 0·05 m., breadth of eyes 0·05 m., breadth of mouth 0·07 m. It is worked only in front, the back being chiselled roughly away, so that it has the appearance of a mask. Nothing is left of the neck. The ends of the hair are broken off, especially in the case of the side-locks, and the edges of the beard are smoothed by weathering. Restored:—nose and portions of lower lip. The eyes are hollow, and were filled with inserted material.

The height of the Ny Carlsberg head is 0·59 m. Herr Jacobsen writes to me in regard to it: 'The hair is only properly executed in front. The top is quite rough, shewing broken ivy leaves. The head is cut off quite flat behind. It belongs to a Herm, and has probably been placed close against a wall in order that it should not be seen from behind.' The provenance of this head is unknown, but it was bought for Herr Jacobsen in an antiquity-shop in Rome. Traces of an ivy leaf are visible also in the Vatican head, to the side above the temples, and there is every reason to suppose that it also belonged to a Herm which stood against the wall.

[1] Braun, *Ruinen und Museen*, p. 338, No. 79.

Both Vatican and Copenhagen heads represent a satyric type, with hair rising sharply from the forehead, and falling in thick masses down the side of the face. The larger locks of the hair are sub-divided and treated with some minuteness, the general effect being one of free activity without conventional symmetry. The beard is thick and rounded, and is treated with less *abandon*, lying in regular rows of curls of very similar appearance, and presenting a flattish surface pierced by deep hollows where the locks are separated. The moustache describes a somewhat conventional curve, and is twisted symmetrically at the tips, so as to form a curl like those of the beard. Throughout, the inner lines of the larger locks are carefully shewn by parallel untwisted lines. The lower lip is left free of hair, and on the point of the chin there are finer wavy lines merging into the greater thickness of the beard. The ears are covered by the falling locks of hair. The face is long, narrowing perceptibly towards the top, and displays a bony structure of the brows and cheekbones. This is further emphasized by the grinning expression, which contracts the space between the eyes and the mouth. The nose of the Vatican head is restored, but from the Copenhagen replica we gather that it was short and wide at the nostrils. There are heavy masses of flesh over the corners of the eyebrows, and the lower half of the forehead is prominent, with a marked bow-shaped wrinkle separating it from the upper half, and a subsidiary wrinkle just above the other. The eyes are sunk deeply, with thin upper lids, and a sharp line for the lower lid, which is depressed in the middle. The outer corners of the eyes turn round sharply into the cheeks, producing a strong lateral wrinkle, and giving the whole eye a very rounded appearance. The Copenhagen head shews a further bending over of the lower lids. There are deep hollows also between the inner eye-corners and the nose. The lips are parted, shewing the upper line of teeth, but their edges are much damaged in the Vatican copy.

It has been suggested that the Copenhagen head represents a Centaur rather than a Satyr, but the set grin of the Vatican head and the ivy crowns seem to suit a Satyric attribution better. The bestial character is more marked in the Vatican head, and from both, the pathetic expression found in many fourth century representations of similar creatures is quite absent. The subject appeals directly to the spectator, and the work is essentially vigorous and simple.

In attempting to determine the place in the history of sculpture of the

original of which these two heads are copies, it is impossible to overlook their close resemblance with the male head from Lycosura, which is identified with the Anytus of Damophon.[1] There are some differences in the hair-treatment, notably in the hair over the forehead and the locks of the beard, which it will be necessary to explain, but in the more essential facial features the similarity is striking. Thus we see the forehead narrowing in the same fashion towards the hair, and with similar lateral depressions over the outer corners of the eyes; the same heavy roll of flesh over the eyebrows; and a similar prominence of the lower part of the forehead, separated from the upper by the same bow-shaped wrinkle with a second smaller wrinkle above it. A still more remarkable resemblance is visible in the peculiar rounded eye, a marked feature of the Damophon heads,[2] curving inwards at the corners, with sharp, strongly curved lids, rolling over to form a sort of lip. Here, too, are the high cheek bones and wide flat nose of the Lycosura head, though the Satyric grin demands a shorter distance between eyes and mouth, and consequently a greater emphasis on the cheek swellings. The fashion of the moustache is similar in both cases, and the parted, pouting lips, though restoration and weathering have somewhat obscured the latter feature in the Vatican head. The building of the cheeks is similar, with hollows at the inner, and wrinkles at the outer eye-corners. In each case the under line of the moustache is marked by a deep groove running down deeply into the beard past the tip of the moustache; and in each case the hair on the point of the chin, leaving the lower lip free, is worked in fine wavy lines carefully separated from the rest of the beard. It is in the hair that differences are visible. Thus in the Anytus head we have a row of small locks standing on the forehead, with larger locks behind standing up, and then falling over, while the beard is arranged naturalistically in heavy masses, without symmetry, and forked at its lower extremity. The side-hair hangs in large rough locks. In the Vatican head the side-hair must have been very similar, but the forehead-hair stands up in a larger sweep without small locks in front, while the beard lies in a round and regular mass without wildness or naturalism. In both heads the expression is direct and without subtlety, in the one case that of an untamed animal, in the other that of a simple rustic. The

[1] Cf. E. Gardner, *Handbook*, ii. p. 401. P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lvcosure*, Pl. III. A. M. Daniel in *J.H.S.* xxiv. (1904), p. 45.

[2] Cf. A. M. Daniel in *J.H.S.* xxiv. *op. cit.*

greater dryness and formalism of the Vatican and Copenhagen heads must be ascribed in part to the copyist. Even so the similarity of workmanship, with its characteristic use of a fine wavy line sub-dividing the individual masses of the hair, is immediately evident, and as a subsidiary detail we may remember that the Lycosura heads also are worked only in front, leaving the back parts hollow and rough. The actual state of the surface of the Vatican head shews a close resemblance to the Anytus, in the absence of careful finish. Both works have something of the appearance of a sketch as compared with a completed drawing.

There is another fact which seems to throw some light on the place of origin of this type. Both the replicas are of *rosso antico*, and this affords some *prima facie* evidence that the original was of *rosso antico* also. Such a material would be eminently suitable to the subject, for we know that images of Dionysus were frequently made of figwood painted red. For this the substitution of a red marble in later times would be natural. *Rosso antico* is only found in Laconia, in quarries along the sea-coast from Gythium to C. Matapan, and is known to have been used for sculpture as early as the middle of the second century B.C. From the time of the Roman occupation it came into general use, but there is no reason to suppose that it was not used earlier for local work. If, then, we find in the heads under discussion evidence for an original of third century date, and grant the probability that that original was in *rosso antico*, we have good evidence for connecting it with a sculptor of the S. Peloponnese. One further point hints at a connection with Damophon. It is known that this sculptor made an Idaean Herakles for Megalopolis,[1] and this statue is recognized with great probability by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner[2] in a coin-type of that city shewing a herm of Heracles wrapped in a lion's skin. There are a great number of sculptural representations of this type, and the best copy known, which is, or was, in private possession in Sparta,[3] together with another headless replica, are both in *rosso antico*. It is possible, therefore, that the original by Damophon was also in that material. Of course no stress can be laid on these problematical arguments, but considered together with the strong internal evidence of resemblance they may serve to strengthen the connection with Damophon.

[1] Cf. Athenaeus, iii. 78c, and Paus. II. ii. 6, with Frazer's valuable note on the latter passage.
[2] *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, p. 105, Pl. V. 6.
[3] *Ath. Mitth.* ii. p. 343, figured in *Roscher's Lexicon*, ii. 2170.

It is clear, at any rate, that any attempt to supply a date and an author for this type must take into account the vexed question of the date of Damophon. It is possible that the work of reconstructing the Lycosura group, on which I am at present engaged, may throw further light on this point, but at present the stylistic evidence is far from complete.

The stylistic forerunner both of the Anytus and the type under discussion is the well-known Zeus of Otricoli. The various views held in regard to this head are stated in Helbig's *Führer durch Rom* i. p. 189. Professor Furtwängler[1] has upheld the Praxitelean origin of this head, but those who are not convinced by his arguments for the authorship of the so-called Eubouleus, will find in the hair-treatment as well as in the moulding of the facial expression greater resemblances to the style of Lysippus. The fine bronze Zeus from Epirus in the Constantinople Museum,[2] which reproduces the head-type of the Otricoli bust, shews the scheme of proportions and the general style and pose which are usually associated with the sculptor of Sicyon.[3]

When we compare the Otricoli head with the heads we have been discussing, it is clear that it dates from an earlier period. There is the same building of the face without the development and exaggeration of the later imitations. Thus we find here the double swelling of the lower part of the forehead, which narrows to the top with a clear horizontal wrinkle, as yet straight, not bow-shaped; the heavy folds of flesh over the eyes, thrown into strong relief by the lateral depressions of the temples, the high

[1] *Masterpieces*, pp. 190, 342.

[2] *B.C.H.* 1885, Pl. 14. I cannot agree with Professor Furtwängler's criticism of this statue. The forms in the original are by no means so heavy as they appear in the photograph, the general impression being one of easy activity. The proportion of the head to the total height is 8·7 to 67 centimetres, and the three divisions of the torso measure respectively downwards 6·7, 7·4, and 5·5 centimetres, which suits the Lysippic but not the Praxitelean canon. The attitude is closely analogous to that of the Apoxyomenos and does not shew that love of the curved central line which we find in Praxiteles. Moreover in the hair itself there is a careful rendering of nature, instead of the brilliant idealism of Praxiteles with its rough masses and sharp play of light and shade.

[3] Dr. Amelung, to whom I am indebted for the measurements of the head which forms the subject of this article, has expressed in the *Revue archéologique* for 1903 vol. ii. p. 198 the view that the author of the Otricoli type was also the author of the Sarapis type best shewn in a statue in the museum of Alexandria, which forms Pl. IX. of the same volume. This sculptor he believes to be Bryaxis. I have not seen the statue in Alexandria, but, judging from the photograph, it would seem that the heavy formalized hair with its hanging fringe peculiar to heads of Sarapis must belong to a different type from the Otricoli bust. The softer forehead with simpler modelling and squarer form suggests an earlier and an Attic origin. That the Otricoli type was influenced by it, is clear from the general resemblance between the two heads, but if its date was later, that is all that is necessary for the purpose of the present article.

cheek bones and heavy parted lips, the short upstanding locks in front of the heavier fall of hair over the forehead, the massed side-locks covering the ears, and the thick forked beard leaving the lower lip free. But the eyes are still more nearly flat, in classical fashion, and do not shew the curious naturalistic curve into the cheek at the outer corners. The ideal majesty of the expression and grave benignity of the lowered glance emphasize the difference between the creative ideal art of the great period and the archaistic or naturalistic tendencies of the succeeding generations of artists.

For the purpose of a close comparison with the Anytus and the Vatican head however, it is rather with two derivatives of the Otricoli head that we must deal. These are (1) a head in Naples,[1] and (2) a head in Parma,[2] well illustrated in Overbeck's *Atlas der Griech. Kunstmythologie, Zeus*, Taf. II. Nos. 3 and 9.

The peculiar hair treatment of the Anytus is paralleled closely by the Naples head (No. 3, in Overbeck). Here we get short upstanding locks over the forehead, with larger ones behind, that shew an actual identity in detail.[3] The side-hair hangs away from the face in similar fashion, the form of the moustache corresponds closely, and the beard is treated in curly masses of similar character terminated in a fork below the chin. The eyes, while still flatter than in the Anytus, are rounder and wider open than in the Otricoli head, the gaze is more direct, the forehead wrinkle is bow-shaped, and there is further resemblance in the wide flat nose and thick pouting lips. The work is a poor formal copy, but the original was a development on the Otricoli type, not far removed from the master himself, but perceptibly wanting in the grandeur and simplicity of the original conception.

The hair of the Vatican head, on the other hand, finds its prototype rather in the Parma variant, which seems to stand to the Otricoli head in a relation analogous to that of the Naples bust. Here we see the same sweep of hair upwards from the forehead, with a round, flat, and somewhat formalized beard. The facial characteristics resemble those of the other heads. At the same time the beard is free and less conventional

[1] Oberbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. pp. 86 f. No 13.

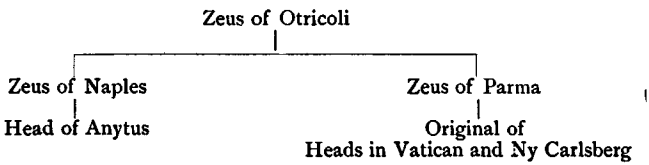
[2] Oberbeck, *Kunstmyth.* ii. pp. 85 f. No. 15. Cf. also Arndt-Amelung *Einzel-Aufnahmen*, Nos. 69, 70.

[3] Compare the large locks that stand up behind the smaller fringe to the right of the heads as shewn in the photographs in Overbeck and on Plate IV.

than in the Vatican head, the eyes are less round, and the classical tradition is more closely adhered to.

In the case of earlier works there would of course be obvious objections to comparing the treatment of face and hair of a Satyr and a Titan with those of a Zeus, but at the late period of art to which these heads belong, the growth of new types in such details had stopped, and the hair-treatment of male bearded heads was beginning to approach that uniformity which it presents in works of the Pergamene school.

So far, then, as we can judge by evidence of style, both the Anytus and the Vatican head are later than the copies of the Otricoli Zeus, and fall most naturally into the first half of the third century. We might shew their artistic pedigree in tabular fashion.



It remains to explain the relation to one another. The obvious difference is the formalism of the Vatican head, both in expression and in the treatment of the beard, and the free naturalism of the Anytus. The greater freedom of expression in the Copenhagen replica shews that we must attribute some of the former difficulty to the copyist, but the beard still awaits explanation. It seems clear that the third century in Greek art was a period of archaistic reaction. The great masters were dead, and the new vigour of Alexandrian or Pergamene artists had not yet reacted on Hellas itself. The leading sculptors were pupils of Praxiteles, pupils of Scopas, pupils of Lysippus, or these pupils' pupils, and the want of original genius produced a reaction to earlier creations, while the treatment of details like hair tended to follow a uniform type, for the most part derived from the Lysippic model for male, and the Praxitelean for female figures. The original works which one is inclined to attribute to this century are, as a rule, subjects of such hot debate, that one hesitates to instance the Cerigotto bronze or the Aphrodite of Melos. Damophon, whom I propose to class among the artists of this century for reasons which will appear, I hope, in a subsequent publication, stands above his contemporaries. His reputation must have been first class, for we find

him working in Achaia and Arcadia as well as in his native city, and he was chosen among all the artists of Greece to repair the Olympian Zeus. We are not surprised then to find in his work an originality and freshness in conception, which have led some critics to place him a century too early. If we attribute the original of the Vatican head to him, we shall see in it a work of his youth before he had emancipated himself from the prevalent archaistic tendency in hair treatment; but if we call the head the work of the master of Damophon we shall be expressing the relation equally well. The actual attribution of the head to Damophon himself or another artist is not a matter of supreme importance. What is essential is to notice the close stylistic resemblance in points of detail, which proves that the two works were intimately connected, and thus any light thrown upon the date of the one, by its nature, material, or treatment, may be applied in arguing about the other. The condition of external evidence being what it is, it is only by use of such comparative arguments that we can hope to settle definitely the vexed question of Damophon's date.

GUY DICKINS.

CRETAN PALACES AND THE AEGEAN CIVILIZATION.

(PLATES V–VII.)

PROFESSOR DOERPFELD in the *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xxx. pp. 257–97, has put forward a theory regarding the relation of the later to the earlier palaces at Knossos and at Phaestos, which requires serious consideration, not only in view of Doerpfeld's high authority in such matters, but also in the light of the results of excavation, as these have been accumulating from season to season at different sites in Crete.[1]

It will clear the ground considerably if, as a common starting-point of argument, it is agreed at the very beginning that the question at issue is primarily one of stratification, and that all understanding of sequence in development is ultimately conditioned by our apprehension of the character of the sequence in the stratification, in so far as that has been brought to light by actual excavation. The solution of the problem in detail, in so far as the condition of the remains allows of such a solution, can only be a question of time. Meanwhile in view of the regular reports of the excavators, a certain attitude of patience and suspense of judgment on final questions, while becoming in itself, was only in the circumstances what was to have been expected of the world at large. By the time, indeed, at which Doerpfeld writes, one fact had emerged quite clearly both at Knossos and at Phaestos: on either site there was an earlier and a later palace. There is no difference of view at all on that

[1] For kind permission to make use of the materials from Knossos and Phaestos my warm thanks are due respectively to Dr. Arthur Evans and to Professor Federico Halbherr. Prof. Halbherr has courteously allowed me to reproduce his plan of the Palace of Phaestos and Plate II. (Fig. 1.)

simple point. Here, however, at the very beginning our agreement of opinion unfortunately ends, while our differences of standpoint diverge to absolute contradiction.

Professor Doerpfeld, unluckily for the conclusion which he has at

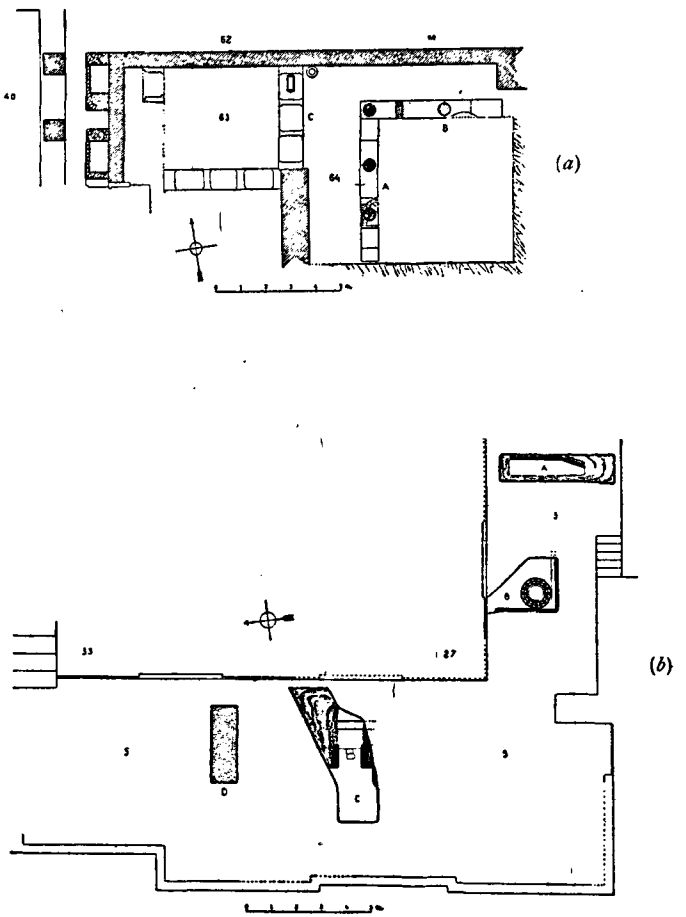


FIG. 1 (*a*), (*b*).—PLANS SHOWING ADDITIONAL EXCAVATIONS AT PHAESTOS SINCE 1903.

heart, labours under an initial misconception on the question of stratification which very seriously vitiates the cogency of his whole later argument: he regards the process of stratification as having been exactly the same at Knossos and at Phaestos. On both sites according to

him (*ib.* 257–8) an earlier palace is destroyed, and on its ruins at a higher level a later palace is built. This sounds very clear and simple. As a matter of fact, however, although the statement holds in a general way of Phaestos, it is only true in a very partial sense of the terraced parts of the site, as far as Knossos is concerned, and it is not true at all of the only part of the Palace of Knossos—the West Wing—which for Doerpfeld comes into account. At Knossos the processes of stratification, which were on a much larger scale, were much more intricate than at Phaestos, and on the top of the hill which is taken up by the West Wing and the Central Court of the Palace, these processes went on under conditions natural and artificial which were essentially different in kind from those which obtained at Phaestos. At Knossos the top of the hill had been levelled away early in the Middle Minoan Age, and after that, on the level platform thus laid out for the unterraced parts of the earlier building, there was no later stratification at all as at Phaestos. The later builders did not on this platform construct at a higher level than the earlier ones, as was the case at Phaestos, but at the same level, making use of old walls and even old systems of construction in a way which as a rule incorporated them so completely into one organic whole with later arrangements, that it is often a matter of excessive difficulty to distinguish what originally formed part of the earlier constructions, and what has been added by the later architects. Further however, on the Palace hill at Knossos nothing at all exists that is later than these reconstructions, except what belongs to the period of partial re-occupation when the greater part of the building itself was already a ruin. These re-occupiers in the time of full decadence had apparently made poor abodes for themselves in outlying basements and against terrace walls on the outskirts of the building. On the levelled platform taken up by the greater part of the West Wing of the Palace, inclusively of all the magazines and half of the Central Court, no evidence of such re-occupation, whether at the same or at a higher level, was ever found at all. On the floors all over this area the finds whether of pottery (inclusively of the whole array of pithoi), of remains of wall-painting, stone-vases or inscribed tablets, belonged to the latest period of the Palace.

In view of Doerpfeld's theory, far-reaching consequences follow from this evidence, since the whole of it has to be put into the same context, not with that from the earlier palace (as the theory in question

requires), but with that from the later palace at Phaestos. In other words, finds which at Knossos, according to this theory, ought to belong to Doerpfeld's 'Carian' palace are found at Phaestos to fit on to remains of the 'Achaean' palace. This is a very serious result, for in what follows it will abundantly appear that this contradiction is not only in itself of an essential and fundamental character, but that all Doerpfeld's later conclusions are ultimately either based upon it or presuppose it. The initial misconception, we found, had presupposed an absolute similarity in the processes of stratification at Phaestos and at Knossos which did not exist. Accordingly the later palace at Phaestos, which was built at a higher level, is not correlated as it ought to have been with the remodelled palace at Knossos, which in the west wing was reconstructed at the original level. In this west wing at Knossos Doerpfeld conceives a process of stratification in agreement with that at Phaestos, and a rebuilding at a higher level at a time when the magazines and the Pillar-rooms with their tell-tale pithoi and other remains were, as he supposes, conveniently submerged. At this higher level, and in this west wing in the area of the Pillar-rooms, a megaron is further conceived of which it is true no trace emerged on excavation, but which all the same is further presumed to have been of Achaean type. We thus have, on the one hand, a later palace at Phaestos, of which the remains must be coordinated with those of the remodelled ground-floor of the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos; and on the other hand, an imaginary megaron at Knossos, at a higher level, of which the remains, had they existed, would have been found to be of much later date.

In what follows it will be well constantly to bear in mind the consequences of this assumption, for Doerpfeld relies chiefly upon it to support his main argument, which is this: that at Knossos, as at Phaestos, beside the supposed uniform stratification there existed a correspondingly uniform difference of style which, according to him, is to be explained on the supposition that while the earlier buildings are to be regarded as of native Cretan or 'Carian' architecture, the later ones are as distinctly of mainland Greek or 'Achaean' type. The question has thus become a very serious one, in so far as this supposed difference of style is made by Doerpfeld the basis of a far-reaching theory regarding the succession of race-stratifications in prehistoric Crete. In the sequel, however, I hope to show that the theory in question is not borne out by the actual

results of excavation, and cannot serve to explain differences of style which either do not exist at all or have only emerged as the result of a natural process of architectural development.

THE CRETAN PALACES.

Let us now come to these facts. There is no question here of disputing the opinion gradually arrived at by the excavators themselves, that the Theatral Area at Phaestos, the connected paved West Court, and the Propylon or one-columned Portico leading thence into the building, were connected remains of an earlier palace of which the West Façade is partly preserved for us as shown at 5 on the plan.[1] It is to be regarded as a matter of course that the Cretan excavators were bound sooner or later to arrive at this conclusion through their own independent study of the remains, and quite apart from the influence of any outside opinion. For example, the Portico above mentioned at the South-East corner of the West Court at Phaestos was recognised as having been an entrance to the earlier palace by Arthur Evans and also by myself on separate visits, quite independently of each other and of the conclusions arrived at by the Italians and by Doerpfeld on their own account. The one point on which the views of the Cretan explorers diverge from those of Doerpfeld is that in which he regards the later palace at Phaestos as differing essentially in style, not only from the remains of the earlier one there, but from what he himself regards as the earlier parts of the palace at Knossos.

To illustrate this difference of style Doerpfeld concentrates his attention on one feature of the later palace at Phaestos: the system 66–69 marked red on his plan (Tafel x.). In doing this, however, he depreciates the cogency of very good reasons given by Dr. Noack in his *Homerische Paläste*, pp. 4–6, for regarding the style of this system as typically characteristic of Cretan palace architecture as distinguished from the Mycenaean style of Greece. Noack remarks on the supposed predominance of the one- and three-column systems in Crete in circumstances in which, on the Mycenaean mainland, the two-column system is universal;

[1] *Mon. Ant. Linc.* xiv., Tav. xxvii. 5, our Pl. I. 2, 5; [by the courtesy and kindness of Professor Federico Halbherr I am allowed to reproduce it here.] Reference should also be made to the Plan of the Palace of Knossos given in *B.S.A.* viii. Plate I.

and for this and other reasons concludes that the two styles were widely different. Now it turns out that Noack was wrong in his conception of the character of the things compared. The one- and three-column system, as we shall see, is in Crete characteristic of something which is no megaron at all; whereas, in relation to the megaron, the two-column arrangement, under varying conditions, is as typical of Cretan architecture as of Mycenaean. But with this important reservation, the Cretan style of the system, as will be seen presently, is much more characteristic than even Noack imagined.

There is one feature, indeed, of the later 'megaron' at Phaestos which unfortunately has been overlooked both by Noack and by Doerpfeld, and which is fatal to their respective arguments, in so far as they come to opposite conclusions from this example as to the characteristic features in the one case of a Cretan, and in the other, of a Mycenaean megaron. At the back of this system, at 69', what Doerpfeld considers to be the great hall of his megaron is really a light-well with solid walls of ashlar masonry in limestone which were entirely open to the sky. The presence of this light-well rather curtails the grandiose proportions of the supposed megaron, while it is fatal to Doerpfeld's conceptions as to the 'Achaean' character of this megaron. Noack equally overlooks the light-well, without much harm, it is true, to his general argument as to the Cretan character of the system, but with considerable prejudice to his conception of this as a megaron. The fact that Noack in this particular instance can be right in one respect while wrong in another, only shows that the general trend of his argument has hit the mark; notwithstanding his mistake, he has still managed to show that there are certain architectural functions, such as the broad front, which may be common to a Cretan megaron and to something else which we believe is no megaron at all. The light-well again in every Cretan palace is a normal feature of the megaron, but its functions are not limited to that, for it may in varying circumstances equally serve to light a staircase or a corridor.

As we have indicated, the consequences of this grave oversight are much more serious for Doerpfeld than for Noack. In view of the light-well he must either affirm that the system is all the same a megaron,—in which case, however, in view of the presence of the light-well and of the justice of Noack's general argument he must admit its genuine Cretan character;—or, on the other hand, he must confess that it is no megaron

at all, in which case again what becomes of its supposed 'Achaean' character? Noack again is right in his general argument as to the Cretan character of the system as a whole, and the Hall of the Double Axes at Knossos affords us a classical example of a megaron backed by a light-well. Yet in the Phaestian system, if we subtract the area occupied by the light-well, he, equally with Doerpfeld, has his supposed megaron reduced to the very modest proportions of a narrow portico serving as entrance to an almost equally narrow vestibule. When once indeed we have arrived at this stage of subtracting the light-well, we have every right to ask Noack in what respect his description of a supposed Cretan megaron differs from that of a portico. Apart from the light-well, which he himself has overlooked, his general line of argument as to the Cretan character of the system applies to a portico quite as well as to a megaron.

Our conclusion is that Noack and Doerpfeld have both equally to give up the one his Cretan and the other his 'Achaean' megaron, and that what we have here is no megaron at all, but only a state entrance to the later palace.

Let us attempt to show this in some detail:—In the first place we have a wide stair of twelve steps, entering up east from the external West Court of the Palace.[1] The stair is open to the sky, therefore the steps and the flanking walls are of limestone. The orientation of this stair and its external outlook are sufficiently explained by its functions in relation to an open portico, not by its supposed connection with the gable entrance of a megaron of 'Achaean' type. In the angle of the terrace to the left on ascending there may have been a loggia as the Italians suggest, backed by windows looking south on to the entrance stair and west on to the stair up north, marked as 6 on the plan. If there was no loggia the windows would have been in the terrace wall itself. A similar window or windows to the right probably looked out on the entrance stair from the adjoining upper hall above the magazines 27–36.

On reaching the top of the entrance stair one comes out on a spacious landing (67) of the same width as the stair, equally of limestone and equally open to the sky.[2] This landing probably also had a window to

[1] See *Mon. Ant.* xii., Tav. ii. 66, Tav. iv.; xiv., Tav. xxvii. 66, Tav. xxx., and our Pls. V. 2, 66, and VI.

[2] For this landing in its relation to the stair, see especially Pl. VI. and *Mon. Ant.* xiv. Tav. xxx. already referred to. Also for a very good view, Noack, *Homerische Paläste*, Pl. I. 1.

the right looking out from the upper hall above magazines 35–6, and probably also a window to the left lighting the west part of the stair corridor 71. The floor of this landing, like that of the whole remaining parts of the system, is at a level of 1·80 above the ground floor to the south. At the same time, however, it comes 80 centimetres short of the level of the upper floor on the same side, while it is as much as 1·20 metres below that of the terraced ground floor on the north side. Special attention has to be drawn to this peculiar adjustment of level, for as is already clear, and as we shall abundantly see in the sequel, a mediative function is secured by means of it in relation to adjacent systems at higher and lower levels which is as adroit a *tour de force* of architecture for a State-entrance as it would be inconvenient for a megaron.

From the landing we pass into a roofed porch (68) with its characteristic massive column, for which there are abundant analogies both at Phaestos and at Knossos. This porch was always accessible from the stair and the landing, and apparently could not be closed. It is, of course, of the same width as the landing, but not nearly so deep.

From the porch we pass through either of two doors into a vestibule, 69, which has connections northwards with the stair-corridor 71 and southwards with apartment 70 by means of a short flight of three ascending steps. The vestibule is of the same width as the porch and only very slightly deeper.

Flanking the vestibule at the inmost end of the system is a light-well, 69, 69′, of the same width as the vestibule but of considerably greater depth. The light-well was separated from the vestibule by a flight of three columns on a limestone stylobate.[1] One of the functions of the light-well, which was of solid ashlar masonry in limestone and was entirely open to the sky, was to illumine the adjacent vestibule, which again received further light from the porch through its doors when these were open. It further illumined the lower part of the stair-corridor 71 through the doorway communicating with this at the north end of the vestibule.

The functions of the light-well, however, did not end here. The doorway at the south end of its east wall not only served to communicate with the stairs up north behind, at 39, but conveniently helped to light the

[1] For this light-well see *Mon. Ant.* xiv. 415, Fig. 42, and *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, xii. Figs. 3, 4.

middle landing of this.[1] This same east wall had further a window which helped to light the stair gallery or vestibule, 75, which again had its north end illumined from the peristyled court at 74. A window in the south wall of the light-well illumined the adjacent upper-floor room 38.

From the above description of the functions of the different parts of this supposed megaron it at once appears that this system is no megaron at all but a grandiose state-entrance to the palace. The orientation of the system towards the exterior of the palace and on to the external west court of the building is conditioned by this function, and not, as Doerpfeld supposes, by its presumed analogy with a mainland or 'Achaean' type of megaron.

If, however, we come to details of criticism, we find that all the evidence is as much in favour of the same conclusion as it is against the opposite one. For example, in his argument Doerpfeld makes much of the limestone construction on either side of the state-entrance and along the west façade of the later palace at Phaestos. He finds this construction to be typically characteristic of the 'Achaean' style of architecture, but forgets that it is of exactly the same character as the limestone ashlar masonry on either side of the North Entrance at Knossos.[2] In this case, as it happens, the elements of construction in the Knossian instance which are most characteristic are the earlier ones, which it is most difficult chronologically to correlate with the supposed 'Achaean' constructions at Phaestos. In other words, the same quality of limestone construction which is presumably 'Carian' at Knossos is 'Achaean' at Phaestos. So much, however, does Doerpfeld make of his argument that the earlier people worked prevailingly in gypsum and the later people in limestone, that (*ib.* 265) he commits the error of making the orthostatic system of the earlier façade at Phaestos of gypsum, although that again is actually of limestone.[3]

The limestone ashlar masonry on either side of the entrance stair and landing at Phaestos is in complete analogy with that of the North Entrance

[1] The foot of this stair was illumined through the doorway communicating with it from the Central Court.

[2] See *B.S.A.* viii. Fig. 3.

[3] See *Mon. Ant.* xii. 31. Dr. Pernier here remarks on the resemblance to the West Façade at Knossos; 'soltanto,' he says, 'i blocchi, come il plinto, sono di calcare e non di gesso.' As limestone terraced construction was visible further north at Phaestos, the same material was chosen for the façade, probably for purely aesthetic reasons. At Knossos on the other hand the West façade had no limestone terracing at all in view of it.

of Knossos, and both are sufficiently explained by the fact that these areas were terraced and open to the sky and thus had naturally to be of solid construction. As a matter of fact, indeed, the ashlar limestone construction was throughout the Minoan Age one of the continuous traditions of palace architecture; this was mainly due to its practical adaptability in circumstances such as the terracing up of slopes, which demanded special durability of material and solidity of construction. This is brought out very clearly in the case of the East Façade of the Palace at Knossos, where we have similar ashlar construction in limestone, with part of an older façade, north of the East Bastion, concealed behind the later one to which this bastion itself belongs, and yet both are quite identical in construction and general style.[1] The earlier construction at Knossos thus turns out to be in every respect so like the later at Phaestos that it is impossible to make any distinction in them the basis of any theory as to a difference of style between the architecture of the earlier and of the later builders.

Again, if we come to the limestone construction of the light-well, we find that that is quite characteristic in similar circumstances and that it is similarly explained by the fact that this part was also open to the sky. At Knossos, all the light-wells are in the same limestone material and in the same finely constructed ashlar masonry as, for example, the Hall of the Colonnades, the Court of the Distaffs, the light-wells of the Hall of the Double Axes and of the Queen's Megaron, etc.

Further, the light-well at Phaestos performs exactly the same functions as those at Knossos. In the first instance this function is not that of illumining the actual interior of the light-well itself, but rather, by means of windows, doorways, or intercolumnar intervals, that of lighting adjacent corridors, vestibules, stairs, or apartments entirely outside itself. Doerpfeld, however, having once overlooked the light-well and the fact that that is already open to the sky, while yet apparently uneasy about the lighting of the inner part of his system, supposes a raised roof to his 'megaron' with a window or windows above the columns and above the lower part of the rest of the roof, all with a view of lighting in true 'Achaean' style an interior which is already very well lighted indeed in the Cretan fashion.[2] It is

[1] See *B.S.A.* viii. 110–117, Fig. 69, and our Fig. 2.

[2] 'Der hintere breitere Teil war in seinem Aufbau vermutlich höher als der vordere, so dass über den Säulen zwischen den beiden Dächern Fenster angelegt werden konnten, durch die reichlich Licht und Luft in den Saal gelangten' (Doerpfeld, *ibid.* 277).

only natural that one mistake should lead to a host of others. Thus, having once mistaken the light-well for his megaron, Doerpfeld by the above invention of 'Achaean' windows simply reverses the actual process in a very curious manner by lighting the light-well. It is true there were windows in the light-well, but, in genuine Cretan fashion, they were for letting light out of it, not into it What is specially characteristic of the light-well is that in the first instance it has no independent function in relation to itself such as a living-room or megaron would have, but only a function—that of lighting—in relation to adjacent stairs, corridors, or apartments. In other words, the light-well in question turns out to have a series of functions which are fundamentally and in every respect the reverse of those of a megaron. Thus Doerpfeld is reduced to a dilemma: either he must give up as part of his megaron a light-well which has relation not to what is within it but to what is without it: or, if he accepts the Cretan light-well, he must give up his 'Achaean' type of megaron.

Unfortunately the interests of truth are not consistent with the acceptance all round of a Cretan megaron. For let us consider. The light-well, of course, was open to the sky. Thus the only part of the entire system that can be proved to have been roofed at all is the area lying between the light-well with its stylobate and three columns to east and the porch façade with central column and two side antae to west. On the other hand, the landing outside the porch as well as the great entrance-stair were, like the light-well, open to the sky. Accordingly we have as an apology for a megaron only the two narrow rectangular spaces 68 and 69. When, however, we consider that these spaces, such as they are, instead of forming a unit in themselves, are separated from each other by a dividing wall in the shape of a massive central pillar between two doorways and two huge piers projecting from the side walls, it is clear that the system that results, while presenting none of the analogies of a megaron proper, exhibits all the characteristics of a portico. Or in other words, while a megaron usually has a portico if it is of Mycenaean type, what we have here is simply a Cretan portico without a megaron of any type.

If, however, we once realize that what we have to deal with is really a State-entrance, the functions of the portico become clear at once. The porch in front could not be closed. On the other hand, the vestibule 69 could be shut up from within by means, presumably, of two double swinging doors, which again, as indicated by the construction of the

FIG. 2.—VIEW OF EAST BASTION AT KNOSSOS.
(*B.S.A.* viii. p. 115, Fig. 69.)

doorways, could not be opened at will from without. This fact, together with the isolation of the state-entrance in its midway position between lower and upper storeys, pre-supposes the constant presence in the vestibule of a porter or door-keeper. The necessity for the constant presence of this functionary would very well explain the isolated position in the vestibule of room 70, which would thus be a sort of porter's lodge. There is a similar isolated room in an analogous position to right, just inside the great doorway of the Portico of the Corridor of the Procession at Knossos.[1] So far as the portico itself is concerned, this is only one of the analogies between what, according to Doerpfeld himself, is early (and so presumably 'Carian') at Knossos, and what is late (and which therefore according to the same view, ought to have been 'Achaean') at Phaestos.

The functions of a state-entrance which so well explain the Cretan portico are equally consistent with those of the Cretan light-well, the presence of which on the other hand militates against Doerpfeld's theory of an 'Achaean' megaron. The functions of the light-well were to illumine the vestibule and also, as we have seen, adjacent areas outside itself. As many analogies both from Phaestos and from Knossos teach us, it is true that among the many functions of a light-well of this kind we may include the lighting of a megaron. Unfortunately, however, in the present instance there is no megaron to light, but only a vestibule or portico; and this fact is unfavourable to the views both of Noack and Doerpfeld.

Doerpfeld indeed may ask for proof that our light-well was entirely open to the sky. We have already given as reasons the complete analogy with light-wells at Knossos, of which the construction was exactly similar, and which, without any doubt whatever, were entirely open to the sky. There is, however, another important respect in which there is an exact similarity of construction between the light-well at Knossos and the present one, which absolutely decides the question, and the proof of which is as follows:—

It is a characteristic feature of all the light-wells at Knossos that instead of being paved with stone slabs like the living-rooms, they have floors of some hard cement-like composition, in which sand or pounded limestone mingled with very small river pebbles has been compressed into an exceedingly hard impenetrable substance through the admixture of a

[1] See *B.S.A.* vi. 12.

cement-like ingredient, very probably lime. The floors of the light-well in the Hall of the Colonnades and of that at the west end of the Hall of the Double Axes were in this composition. The angle of meeting between floor and wall is always bevelled up with the same composition in a manner which could only have been intended to keep rain and damp away from the foundations of the walls. The plane of the flooring is never strictly horizontal, but always has a slight declination towards one determinate point. At this point there is a sink communicating with a drain below the flooring, which in turn is connected with one of the main drains adjoining. At Knossos, one drain running due east beneath the cement floor served for both the light-wells mentioned above, and that in the Hall of the Double Axes has the sink-opening still partially preserved.[1]

Now it turns out that the area at Phaestos which I claim to be a similar light-well not only has its floor in exactly the same composition, and the angle of meeting between floor and wall bevelled up with cement in exactly the same way, but in all other characteristic details answers to the Knossos ones so closely that no reasonable explanation is to be found, except in similarity of function. Regarding the floor at Phaestos Dr. Luigi Pernier says that 'scavando nel mezzo, si constatò che tale pavimento era formato d'uno strato di calce, argilla e sassolini alta circa m. 0·10, il quale s'era conservato perfettamente ovunque, costituendo una copertura solida e impenetrabile agli strati delle rovine sottoposte.'[2] Further, in the course of a visit to Phaestos in 1903 I myself examined the cement paving very closely, and among other points took particular note of the bevelling up at the edges, which is especially well preserved along the foot of the south wall of the light-well.

The cement paving, however, is not confined to the light-well. The adjacent vestibule, separated from the light-well by the stylobate with its columnar system, has a similar cement pavement. It was during the course of investigations here, which led ultimately to the discovery of the early magazines underneath the light-well, that a preliminary find was made, which is of the highest importance towards a complete understanding of the light-well. Pernier (*ib.* 412) describes the sinking, for this purpose, of two large trenches, and goes on to say: 'in quella a sud, poco sotto la crosta calcarea, spessa da m. 0·08 a m. 0·10, che costituisce il

[1] See Fig. 2, and *B.S.A.* viii. 56, Fig. 29. [2] *Mon. Ant.* xiv. 414.

pavimento di tutta la sala, venne in luce un piccolo canale di scarico, fatto con lastre di pietra calcare ben congiunte, largo m. 0·15–0·25, alto m. 0·30 circa.' Now, notwithstanding the fact that Pernier seems certain that this drain could have had no connection with his 'megaron,' we still venture to think that there must have been a connection of some kind with our light-well, and that what we have here is nothing more or less than the light-well drain, familiar to us from Knossos. I have already referred to the similar drain which passes eastwards under the cement pavement in the Hall of the Colonnades, and reappears in the light-well of the Hall of the Double Axes. In this light-well, as we have said, the sink-opening of stone connecting the surface of the pavement with the drain below is still *in situ* within the stylobate. The drain itself passes below this exactly as it does at Phaestos, where in Pernier's own words 'uscendo di sotto lo stylobate, corre in direzione nord-ovest con una sensibile pendenza.'

One point comes out in this description which is of great moment. The declination (pendenza) of the drain is away from the light-well in a north-westerly direction and there can be hardly any doubt that the ultimate outlet was along the north edge of the great entrance stair into the West Court of the palace. Thus we see that the declination of the drain is such as it would be were it really, as I believe, connected with the light-well.

There is a further point, however, which must not be overlooked here. The cement pavement of the light-well itself has a slight but quite perceptible declination towards one point, and this could only have been the point at which a sink-opening brought the surface of the light-well paving into connection with the underlying drain.[1] The declination is towards a point near the south end of the stylobate, and it has already come out in the course of Pernier's description cited above, that it was in this direction in the south trench that the channel was discovered which is further described as proceeding thence in a north-westerly direction.

On further investigation it will probably be found that the cement floor of the vestibule had a declination towards a point above this drain similar to that which obtained in the case of the light-well itself. The cement floor, and this probable declination of it in the case of a vestibule with a roof, need only surprise us in case we fail to recollect that on one

[1] See *Mon. Ant.* xiv. Tav. xxviii., where this declination is at once apparent in the section.

side, towards the light-well, the vestibule was quite open laterally across the stylobate and the colonnade, and thus more unprotected against stress of weather from the east than the east half of the light-well itself. Thus the supposed megaron, whether 'Achaean' or Cretan, on closer examination turns out to have dwindled away to the modest proportions of a vestibule; this is protected on the west side by means of doorways which are quite adequately explained by the ordinary functions of a portico; but it is exposed on the east in a manner which, considering the disproportionate lack of depth of the vestibule in this direction, makes that a subordinate adjunct of the light-well to a degree which is inconsistent with any of the functions of a megaron.[1]

Here we must guard against a possible misapprehension. Although in this particular instance, as I believe, the light-well has to be put into relation with a system which is not a megaron at all, but a state-entrance into the palace, I must not be understood thereby to mean that the presence of a light-well would have been inconsistent with a megaron alongside of it, had there been one. The light-well would have been inconsistent with the Mycenaean type of megaron which Doerpfeld's hypothesis requires, but it would not have been in the least out of harmony with a hall of Cretan type, had there been room for one. Noack hardly realizes this when he is puzzled by the presence of the two-columned light-well at the inner or west end of the Hall of the Double Axes at Knossos.[2] But that is, of course, because he has overlooked the light-well at Phaestos. As a matter of fact there is no anomaly whatever about the two-columned light-well of the Hall of the Double Axes. This arrangement in similar circumstances is quite common and normal at Knossos, as, for example, in the case of the Queen's Megaron and of that in the Royal Villa, in each of which instances the megaron or hall is flanked by a two-columned light-well. At Phaestos the same system occurs at 78 and 50, at Hagia Triada to east of 7. In fairness, however, to Noack it must be added that these quite normal examples of the two-columned light-well were not all discovered at the time he wrote. Otherwise he would probably have found that what was abnormal was the three-column

[1] Where a light-well is really annexed to a system of living-apartments, as in the case of the Hall of the Double Axes at Knossos, the depth of these and their duplication comes out in strong contrast with a portico-arrangement like that at Phaestos. (Fig. 3.)

[2] *Homerische Paläste*, 12–13.

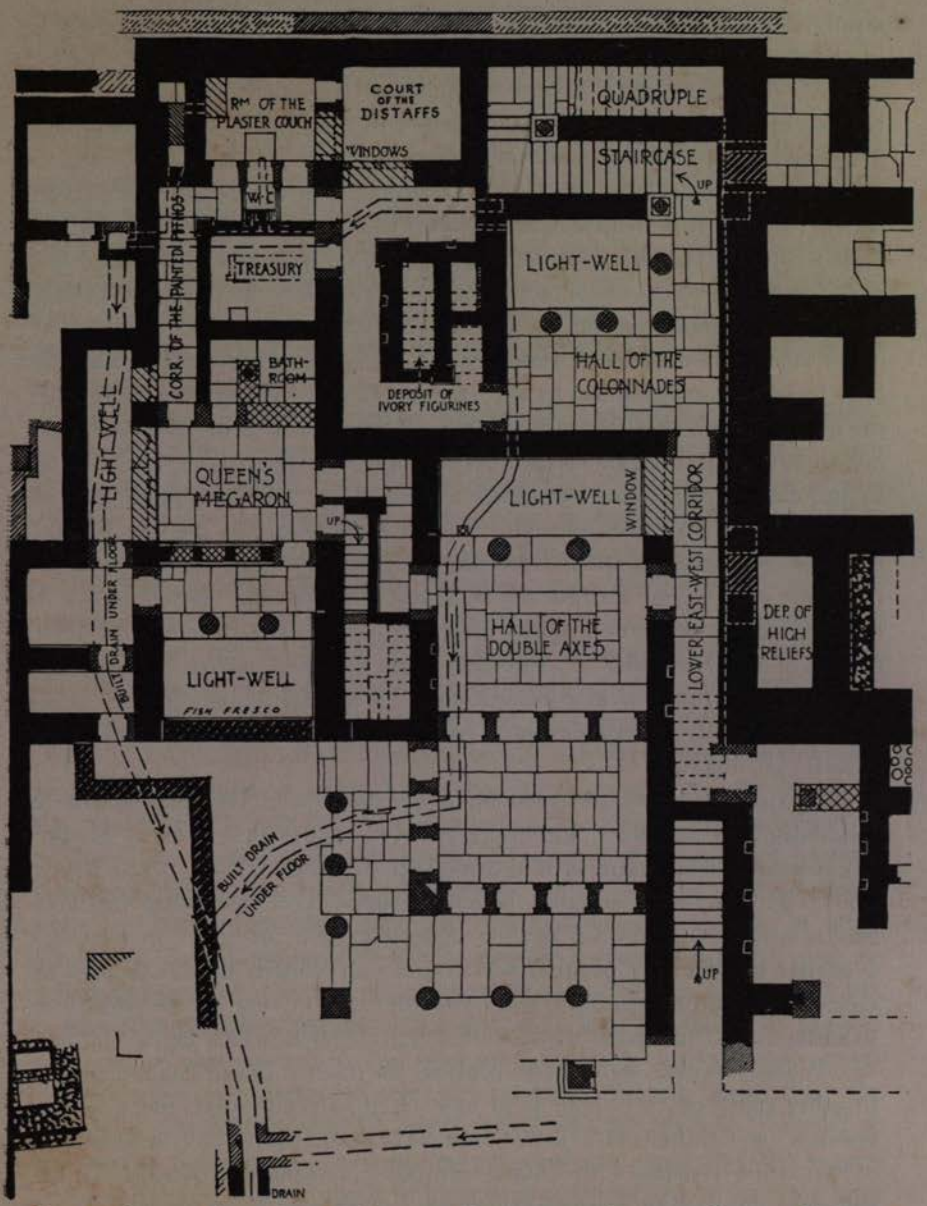


FIG. 3.—GROUND FLOOR PLAN OF DOMESTI QUARTER AND ADJOINING HALLS AT KNOSSOS.
(After *B.S.A.* viii. 56, Fig. 29.)

arrangement of his Phaestian 'megaron,' not the two-columned light-well of the hall at Knossos.

We have now, as a further step in our argument, to consider the relation of the State-entrance at Phaestos to other parts of the building. This is a matter of very great importance, for this reason;—according to the opposing theory, the State-entrance, which belongs to the later palace, ought to have had distinctly Mycenaean features; it is, however, with its light-well, really Cretan in style, and in systematic connection with other parts of the remains which, according to the theory in question, belong to the earlier building and so are equally Cretan in character; if that is the case, then all intrinsic difference of style between the earlier and the later buildings disappears. In the course of this investigation, it is true, the establishment of such systematic connections will bring it about that many parts of the remains which on the opposing theory ought to belong to the earlier palace turn out either to belong to the later building or to have been incorporated into it. Thus it will follow in the sequel that many of the features which Doerpfeld regards as specifically Cretan or 'Carian' and so as intrinsically characteristic of the earlier style of building are just those which most strongly characterize the architecture of the later palace. In other words the later palaces of Crete are as distinctly Cretan as the earlier ones. What consequences will ensue from this result as regards the 'Achaean' hypothesis in general may already be imagined.

I have previously remarked upon the position of our State-entrance —halfway between lower and upper storeys—as a feature which is as easy to explain in connection with the mediative functions of a portico as it would be difficult to account for on the supposition that what we have here is a megaron. As was further suggested, there can be no doubt whatever that this halfway position was consciously chosen by the builder as a clever but natural *tour de force* of architecture in view of the special lie of surface and consequent disposition of terraces with which he had to do.

When, however, we come to consider the relation of our State-entrance to other parts of the building in any detail, we find that the question resolves itself entirely into one of systematic connections. With what part of the visible remains is the State-entrance in systematic connection? It will clear the ground considerably in this connection if we realize at once that while no amount of ingenuity can bring the early magazines under-

lying the light-well of the State-entrance into systematic connection either with that itself or with those constructions immediately adjacent to it, the fact of such systematic connection between the State-entrance itself and these constructions is clear at a glance.

By singular good fortune the remains at Phaestos are best preserved around the State-entrance, so that there can be no doubt whatever as to the constructions with which the State-entrance is in closest systematic connection. By a well preserved doorway and stair up west off the north end of the vestibule, the State-entrance is brought into immediate connection with the whole north wing of the palace. The door itself was shut from the stair side, so that this was given a semi-private character by being controlled from within.

Now constructions that are in systematic connection with each other are usually of the same age as each other, unless, that is, there has been incorporation of earlier construction into a later system. Thus a stair which is marked by Doerpfeld on his plan as early, and so presumably as belonging to the earlier palace, turns out to be really late and to belong to the later palace. The stair, however, is so distinctively Cretan in character that it is only a pity the remains in systematic connection with it further north are not better preserved, for there is every reason to believe that they were as characteristically Cretan in style as the stair itself; unless, that is, we are prepared to believe that a Cretan stair could lead to 'Achaean' landings. That, however, would only be the opposite of what Doerpfeld intended to prove, for he has already set down the stair, and the system with which the stair is connected on the north, as belonging to the earlier palace, and so as being of Cretan character. The assumption underlying the two-fold difference of colouring in Doerpfeld's plan, we must remember, was that the remains in this, as in other directions, corresponding with the supposed 'Achaean' megaron, and the adjacent magazines to the south, no longer exist. This assumption has received much more definite expression than was justifiable, in the red colouring of that system in the plan in question, to indicate its connection with the later palace, in complete contrast with the black of all the remaining constructions, which are thus without further ado assigned to the earlier building. For it turns out that our stair and the related constructions next to it ought to have been coloured red to indicate their systematic connection with the State-entrance of the later palace; not

black, as if they were in systematic connection with the magazines of the earlier building underlying it: this we see at a glance to be impossible.

But the discrepancies do not end there. Thus at the south end of the east wall of the light-well of the State-entrance, there is a doorway opening upon the middle landing of a stair outside it, which ascends up north on to an ample gallery or vestibule, 75; this itself was partly lit by means of a window to left from the light-well, and also in front from the peristyled court, 74, beyond to the north. This court itself, with its sequestered and shady colonnades, performed important functions in the way of communication and of lighting in relation to its whole environment. By means of it, as we shall see, we have complete systematic connection established between the State-entrance on the one hand and the women's quarter to the north and east on the other. Thus our State-entrance, which all agree belongs to the later palace, is found to be in systematic connection with the megaron of the women, whereas this (according to the opposite theory), on account presumably of its Cretan characteristics, ought to be assigned to the earlier building. The conclusion, of course, is that the megaron of the women, like the State-entrance, belongs to the later building. Still more remarkable, however, is the result that a State-entrance which has been already found to be of purely Cretan character, turns out to be in systematic connection with a women's megaron, which everybody acknowledges to be of equally Cretan type. And they both have already been found to belong equally to the later palace. Consequently the later palace, instead of exhibiting distinctly 'Achaean' features, as the opposing theory requires, is found to be of genuinely Cretan type.

From the doorway and the landing already mentioned there is communication not only with the private quarter to north and east, but also with the more public south quarter of the palace, by way of the descending half of the stairs down south to the ground-floor. The relatively greater importance and publicity of this doorway in relation to the State-entrance, in comparison with the semi-private doorway at the north end of the vestibule, become thus at once apparent. In accordance with this greater importance is the fact that it was controlled from the State-entrance side, presumably by the same functionary who had the control of the doors of the portico itself; he apparently lived at number 70 and must have been in constant attendance at the doors under his control.

The mediative functions of the State-entrance, in its relation to what is at lower and higher levels than itself and to the more public and more private quarters of the palace on either side, by way of this doorway and stair, is thus seen at every step only to receive new illustration.

We further, however, find that once having got down by way of the stair to the ground floor, we everywhere come upon the same systematic connections of the State-entrance with the south or more public quarter of the palace, that we have already found to obtain with regard to the north or more private quarter.[1] It is true that, with Doerpfeld, we are only for a moment on safe ground, that is to say, as long as we remain within the restricted area marked red on his plan. If now we emerge into the Central Court either by the doorway opening upon it from the landing at the foot of the stair or by way of the Anteroom 25, we shall perceive no evidence of the border line which in Doerpfeld's plan separates what is to be assigned to the later from what is considered to belong to the earlier building. The truth is, that there is no doubt whatever that the Central Court was in use at the same time as the suite to which the State-entrance belongs, and that it was in entire systematic connection with that. There is further no sufficient warrant for making parts of the system of earlier date than the adjacent magazines to the west, except in so far as there may have been incorporation of earlier elements into one organic whole with later constructions. Doerpfeld himself makes the parts of the Central Court next the magazines of the same period as these, and yet it is quite as certain that the north wall of the court belongs to the same general era of construction. The fine ashlar masonry of this is not essentially different in character from that of the State-entrance itself. It resembles that of the light-wells generally, and it probably served a similar function of lighting, by means of a window, in relation to the long closet 43, and the rooms 59 and 60 behind it. The massive construction of this north açade of the Court is probably to be explained in relation to its exposure to the violent wind and rain-storms of the south.[2]

[1] In these systematic connections must be included any verified incorporation of earlier elements into the organism of later constructions. When so included the fact ought to be made clear on a coloured plan by means of a special combination of colours. In that case they ought not to be indicated either as if they were entirely stratified, unconnected, and early, or as if they were absolutely of one construction with the later system into which they have been incorporated. In this respect Doerpfield's bare contrasts of red and black are quite misleading.

[2] See *Mon. Ant.* xiv., Tav. xxix. 2, Tav. xxxi. 2.

The remains connected with the south area of the Central Court are unfortunately not nearly so well preserved as those connected with its north half. Yet the fact of systematic connection in a general way can be established throughout. Such systematic connections are acknowledged all round between the State-entrance and the more immediately adjacent areas to the south of it, such as the great magazines and the walls above them. This being so, it is not possible to assign to an earlier period the system 8–23 lying still further south, since where they are preserved at all the constructions show systematic connections with the great east-west corridor 5–7, and thus also with the magazines and the State-entrance.[1]

The proof of this was demonstrated in another way. Pernier, *Mon. Ant.* 336–341, has shown very clearly that the portico 3, belonging to the earlier palace, has systematic connections with a paved corridor within it, which passes eastwards under the system of rooms 8–11.[2] Thus these rooms and those adjoining them cannot themselves be brought into systematic connection with the early portico, since that would ultimately mean that they could be brought into systematic relation with the remains in the stratum immediately underlying them, which would be absurd. On the one hand, the portico is in systematic connection with further constructions adjacent to it and east of it underlying the later system, which, like the portico itself, belong to the earlier palace and had been submerged before the later system was built. This system itself on the other hand belongs to the later palace, and its systematic connections are not with what underlies it, but, as has been already pointed out, with the adjacent corridor to north of it, with the magazines and with the State-entrance. Thus it turns out that almost all of this area which is marked black on Doerpfeld's plan ought to have been coloured red, like the State-entrance and the magazines, as belonging, like them, to the later palace; and that what ought to have been marked black, like the older west façade and the portico, are constructions systematically connected with these which are submerged beneath the later system, and are mostly concealed from sight and unexcavated.

If we take the stair at 39 as a whole in relation to the gallery at its top, it seems inconceivable that there could have been any doubt that in

[1] For this corridor see *ibia.* xii. 39, Fig. 11; xiv. 337, Fig. 11.

[2] See *Mon. Ant.* xiv. 338, Fig. 11, where, if we subtract the late stair going down at C the stratified relation of the earlier to the later constructions is quite apparent.

relation to their immediate environment, inclusively of the light-well of the State-entrance, what we have here are not merely apparently but really parts of one system. One of the functions of the light-well was undoubtedly to light the gallery behind it. The functional purpose of the gallery again in relation to the two stairs which emerge upon it is clear at a glance, yet Doerpfeld does not hesitate to make the light-well of one period and the gallery of another, just as he has made the lower part of the west stair late and the upper part early, while the adjoining east stair is made altogether early. The anta at the south end of the gallery is a favourite feature of a stair-landing and is neatly used here to connect at the top the two ascending stairs on either side of it. This anta, however, is not only strictly in line with the column at the north end of the gallery, but is equally in one flight with the west façade of the Central Court. Yet according to Doerpfeld's plan the façade is late while the anta and the column-base are early. We have the same result if we take the south wall of the State-entrance in relation to the north façade of the Central Court, or the north wall of the State-entrance in relation to the south façade of the peristyled court at 74.[1] The east-west lines in either case are rigidly carried through, apparently according to a consistent architectural plan. Yet here again, while the south and north walls of the State-entrance belong to the later palace, the corresponding north façade of the Central Court and the south wall of the peristyled court must, according to the views criticized, belong to the earlier building. This result is particularly unfortunate as regards the peristyled court, for the wall which forms the west half of its south façade is common to it and to the light-well of the State-entrance, and so belongs to the later building; while the column-base already referred to and the east half of the façade, along with all the other walls of the peristyled court, according to the same theory, are to be assigned to the earlier palace. In view, indeed, of the wall which is common to the light-well and the peristyled court, the more reasonable course of procedure in the first instance would be to assume systematic connection between the two areas, especially if one is not quite familiar with the site. When, however, independently of this particular bond of connection between the two areas, the fact of systematic connection has been made out in a great number of details, it is possible to go a step further and affirm that both areas form parts of one system. Now and only now comes the stage in

[1] See *ibid.* 379, Fig. 27, 'Corte Superiore con Portici.'

inquiry when it may be justifiable to ask whether, notwithstanding the fact of thoroughgoing systematic connection, elements from earlier constructions may not have been incorporated into the later system so as to form one organic whole with it. In this case, however, the earlier elements have to be definitely traced out in their connections within the later system. In so far as such elements have become constituent parts of the later system it is in their organic relation to it that they have primarily to be considered. What their connections are in an upper or lower stratum outside of this system is another and independent question. Where, however, we have instances of systematic connection on so wide a scale and of so thorough-going and self-evident a character as those which obtain between the State-entrance and the other regions of the later palace at Phaestos, the question does not apply. To set down the State-entrance with the buildings immediately adjoining it to the south as belonging to the later palace, and at the same time to assign to an earlier system the further organic connections of the same State-entrance, is to beg a question in relation to the later palace as a whole which only existed in connection with the State-entrance and what immediately underlay it in an earlier stratum. The remains in this earlier stratum, as for example the west façade of the earlier palace and the early magazines underlying the light-well, have nothing whatever to do with the constructions in systematic connection with the State-entrance to north and east and south. Yet these constructions on Doerpfeld's plan are marked black, as if, together with the early façade and magazines, they belonged to the earlier palace, instead of red, as belonging to the later building. This procedure, however, is not warranted by the facts, for of the early building almost the only parts excavated have been the west façade with theatral area and portico and the magazines already referred to. All the rest is due either to imagination or to a confusion of later with earlier systems. The only justification for any such confusion would have been the exceptional case at Phaestos already referred to, in which earlier elements of construction have become organically incorporated into the later system. Luigi Pernier indeed cites an instance of such incorporation, to east of the peristyled court referred to above, at 38, 51, 76, which he himself describes as 'vani e scala che si mantenero e s'incorporarono nel palazzo miceneo.'[1] Doerpfeld has overlooked this particular

[1] See *Mon. Ant.* xiv., Tav. xxvii., explanation of numbers 38, 51, 76.

instance of incorporation, but, as we shall see, it is far more fatal to his argument that he has failed to observe the same process on a much more extensive scale at Knossos.

The peristyled court is not in direct communication with the private apartments and stair mentioned in the above quotation, but there can be hardly any doubt that one of the functions of this court was to light the stair up south at 51 by means of a window in its east wall, looking on to it. The two areas are thus in complete systematic connection, and the apartments in question form as organic a part of the later building as if no earlier elements at all had been incorporated into their construction. The systematic connections between these apartments and those adjacent to them on the north side are, however, of a far more familiar and private character. Taken together they form an organic whole in one connected suite of apartments which must have formed the intimate centre of the private life of the later palace. That elements may have been incorporated into their construction which had previously formed parts of the earlier palace is no argument against the architectural unity of their design as an outstanding and characteristic feature of the later building. Again, if the process of incorporation was so wholesale as to include certain arrangements in their entirety, these, far from appearing as an anomaly in the midst of the supposed alien fashions in building of a later time, are in complete harmony with the later style of architecture as a whole. This is only as much as to say that there is no radical difference between the later and the earlier manner at all, but only that greater complexity which is always to be expected in the later stages of a development in full swing as compared with earlier and simpler phases. As long as the processes of development are in steady progression, the later phases, instead of being less specifically typical in character than the earlier ones, are bound to be more so. And thus it is that, in agreement with the natural processes of architectural development, the later palaces of Crete, instead of being less characteristically Cretan than the earlier ones, are more so in all that is essential to the character of Cretan architecture as a whole.

A comparative survey of later with earlier arrangements, whether at Phaestos or at Knossos, brings out the same result. What we have in the later phases of architectural development in comparison with the earlier ones, is greater elaboration in the processes of integration of different

traditional architectural schemes into new combinations, provided particular circumstances call for these. Thus to take entrances. At Phaestos the portico at 3, belonging to the earlier palace and submerged beneath the remains of the later building, is exactly similar in its general simplicity of style to the south-west portico at Knossos which belongs to the later palace.[1] The conditions of surface being the same, the respective architects have no practical reason for deviating from received tradition and seeking out a new combination. The only difference between the earlier and the later portico is one of orientation; there is no difference of style whatever. At Phaestos again, in different circumstances, we have belonging to the later palace a portico, that of the State-entrance, much more elaborate in its combination of details, but with its one-column arrangement of front pointing its affinity with the simpler arrangement of the earlier portico. To be compared with this at Knossos is the late portico with steps up west in the west façade of the Central Court to south of the Throne-room.[2] The State-entrance at Phaestos had the stair leading up to a landing, beyond which came the portico. The Knossian system has the portico and stair combined in one by having the column of the portico in the flight of the stair itself. The variations and elaborations are simply combinations invented by the architect to suit the particular circumstances of the surroundings with which he has to deal. At Phaestos the arrangement of the State-entrance was conditioned by a peculiar lie of surface and an elaborate distribution of terraced levels. At Knossos we have a façade with a stair-portico in it which came almost at once under cover, and so there stair and portico had to be combined in these special circumstances. The transformations and the elaborations into new combinations have to be set down to the inventiveness and resource of the architect working under conditions determined by an inherited tradition of style, and by the particular circumstances of the problem before him. These transformations involve no intrinsic change of style whatever in the transition from an earlier to a later phase of architectural development, but only an elaboration of re-arrangement and re-combination of the earlier in the later towards particular new results.

A general consideration of the porticos has thus brought out the

[1] See *B.S.A.* vi. 11, Fig. 2.
[2] *B.S.A.* vii. 23, 23, Fig. 8, x. 29, 32, Fig. 10, 33.

important fact that the permanent element in all these transformations and re-combinations is the one-column front. Further, apart from any question as to the actual genesis of the one-column system, the result has already come out abundantly that, so far as the Cretan palaces are concerned, this was an arrangement which in its fully developed form was entirely confined to the porticos. Thus, again, it turns out that the three-column arrangement of the State-entrance light-well at Phaestos is an anomaly for which there would be no real analogy if the whole system were conceived as a megaron, but which, as part of an entrance, has its natural explanation at once in the fact that the one-column system of the porch determines the three-column arrangement of the connected light-well.

The normal arrangement in the case of the Cretan megaron, on the other hand, is the two-column system, whether of light-well or of front. A third column as a rule only appears in one flight with either of the side walls. When, however, the column system comes in between the two walls there are only two columns, and the only normal exception to this is just the Cretan portico! Thus in regard to the arrangement of the Hall of the Double Axes at Knossos, Noack (*op. cit.* 12–13) had as little cause for surprise at finding the two-column system there as he had in the presence of the light-well. But the root of the whole mistake is to be traced back to the fact that at Phaestos Noack took as his normal type of megaron what was no megaron at all, and having further overlooked the light-well at Phaestos, he takes the three-column system there as the normal one for the megaron, whereas it is only normal for the one-column portico.[1]

The anomalous system, 25, opening westwards from the Central Court at Phaestos, presents a curious instance of a combination of the characteristic features of portico front and hall interior. The portico has the usual one-column front with the anomaly of two further columns inside the hall in one flight with the column of the portico. The hall, on the other hand, regarded as orientated north and south, has the normal arrangement of two columns between two side walls with a third—that of

[1] Had Noack, with Doerpfeld, not overlooked this light-well, it is hardly probable that at the end of his book (89-91) he would have so readily subscribed to Doerpfeld's supposed later discovery of the 'Achaean' character of this 'megaron.' In that case, however, he would surely have concluded that so far from being an 'Achaean' type of megaron this was no megaron at all!

the portico—in one flight with one of these quite in accordance with the Cretan canon.[1]

But the two-column arrangement between two side walls is not confined to light-wells and halls of this kind. Thus, for example, the South Propylaeum at Knossos which, presumably on account of its two-column system, is claimed by Doerpfeld as part of his Mycenaean palace, and which Noack (*op. cit.* 10) finds so anomalous for Crete, far from being anomalous according to the rules of Cretan architecture, is a case in point. The relation of the columns in this instance to the adjacent doorjambs might be difficult to parallel at Tiryns, while for an interior arrangement it is quite normal in Crete. The greater interval here between the two columns as compared with that between each column and the wall next it is hardly an anomaly in the case of an interior vestibule, and Noack's suggestion that there may have been originally a third column midway between the two existing column-bases only shows that he has been again misled by the false analogy of the system in the State-entrance at Phaestos.

Let us now come to the light-wells, which are so characteristic a feature of the Cretan palaces. If, indeed, there is any feature of these palaces which is typically Cretan in character, it is the peculiar method of lighting by means of a strongly constructed vertical shaft entirely open to the sky, and having windows, colonnades, or open balustrades in its sides by means of which light could be cast into surrounding areas. Now considering that the State-entrance at Phaestos provides us with an extremely typical example of the various combinations into which this element in Cretan architecture could enter, it seems improbable that Doerpfeld at this stage can still maintain a radical difference between the earlier and the later style, by laying any stress on this particular instance as singular. It would be hardly to the point to remind us, for example, that Knossos affords no example of a light-well in combination with a portico, since the palace there is so rich in examples which illustrate the variety of combinations into which according to circumstances the light-well could enter. It could be annexed to a megaron or to a stair, and it could light a private room, or vestibule, or corridor with equal ease. And this is what it does at Phaestos. The point then for Doerpfeld is that a particular feature of Cretan architecture,

[1] See *Mon. Ant.* xii, Tav. v.

which presumably is one of the typical characteristics of the earlier period, is found in the case of the State-entrance at Phaestos to be equally characteristic of the later period and the later style. We have already seen that all other features of the State-entrance are as typically Cretan as the light-well. That followed from Noack's exposition of the system, even although he also, as we have seen, overlooked the light-well and mistook the State-entrance for a Cretan type of megaron. At Knossos again the light-well equally occurs in circumstances which, in Doerpfeld's view, at once connect them with the earlier palace. That, it is true, is a mistake, but the fact that remains is that in a particular instance, that of the Hall of the Double Axes in the private quarter of the palace at Knossos (which for Doerpfeld is typically Cretan in style) we have a light-well with functions answering in all respects to those of the light-well in the State-entrance at Phaestos. The only difference is one which does not suit the opposite theory; for if the 'Achaean' character of the two-column system is to be asserted, surely the three-column system of the light-well at Phaestos ought to be more Cretan than the two-column system of the one at Knossos. In that case, if Doerpfeld still assigns the more 'Mycenaean' looking system to the earlier palace at Knossos, he seems to run serious risk of involving the general theory in an entire contradiction. Personally, I attach no weight to the distinction between the two-column and the three-column system, since on examination it turns out, as we have seen, that in these particular instances each is exactly adapted to the special circumstances under which it occurs. I believe on the other hand that there is no warrant whatever for making the Hall of the Double Axes, with its light-well and its other annexes, much earlier than the State-entrance at Phaestos. They both belong to the later buildings, and they are both equally Cretan in style. At Knossos in this same private quarter we have a striking instance in the Hall of the Colonnades, both of the variety of function which the light-well could perform and of the elaboration of which this system of lighting was susceptible, together with other more simple instances of its use. The simple uses survived under those conditions in which a long tradition had established them in general usage, on account of their adaptability to special functions connected with their original ones; but more elaborate functions emerged alongside of these, not to take their place, but to meet certain special circumstances.

That there was a long tradition is very clear both at Phaestos and at Knossos. An instance has been already cited for Phaestos in which an earlier arrangement has presumably been incorporated more or less intact into a new system. This was the 'Megaron of the Women.' Here then we have a light-well at 50 which was presumably common to the earlier and to the more recent arrangement.[1] Unfortunately at Phaestos we have to await the results of further excavation before we can say much in detail about the use of light-wells in the earlier palace at those parts of the site where the remains are stratified. The existence, however, of a portico at 3 belonging to the earlier palace, which is quite similar in style to other porticos belonging to the later palaces both at Knossos and at Phaestos, does not encourage us to expect an entire absence in the earlier building of light-wells similar to those of the later palace. At Knossos there is already positive evidence on the point, at those parts of the site such as the north-east quarter, where there has been stratification of later constructions above earlier remains, instead of incorporation of earlier elements into the later system, as in the west wing of the palace. Thus there is no doubt that the North East Hall was a large light-well designed to illumine the immediately surrounding area inclusive of the early stair up west which flanks it on the south.[2] The light-well in question, as well as the whole connected adjacent system inclusive of the North East Magazines, as shown by the pottery found on the floors of the whole area, was buried at the end of the Middle Minoan Period, and yet the light-well in question had typical characteristics, and performed functions which were in no sense essentially different from those of the light-well in the Hall of the Colonnades: this in construction belongs to a later period, and continued in use till the latest period of the Later Palace. Again, the northmost of the buttresses in the Corridor of the Bays has a well preserved north face in ashlar limestone masonry which is best explained as having originally formed part of an early light-well which later had got incorporated into the solid construction of the Bays.[3] This early light-well must have had functional relations to its environment, which again could not have been

[1] This light-well may or may not be early, but it is a comparatively elaborate scheme. It has the two-column system on either side and threw light east as well as west.

[2] *B.S.A.* viii. Pl. I. This light-well or court had a covered peristyle at least on the north side. This is in analogy with the peristyle 74 at Phaestos, and with a peristyled court discovered in 1905 in a villa to the west of the palace at Knossos which belongs to the later period.

[3] *Ibid.* Pl. I. K 9.

essentially different from those of the later Court of the Distaffs in a similar position to south of the Royal Stair.[1]

A similar story is told by the so-called bathrooms which are so characteristic a feature of all the Cretan palaces. At Phaestos, it is true, we have to await the results of further excavation for a 'bathroom' which can be definitely assigned to the earlier palace. At Knossos, on the other hand, an elaborate arrangement of this kind has been found in the earlier stratum outside the North Façade of the later palace in circumstances which exclude any systematic connections with this façade itself.[2] The pottery found in the 'bath' belonged to the Third Middle Minoan Period (M.M. III.) and to the same general context as that found in the North-East Magazines and in the 'Temple Repositories.' The conclusion accordingly is that the 'bath-room' had ceased to be used at the period to which the pottery belongs, and that its actual construction went back to a somewhat earlier era. Considering also its anomalous position outside the later façade, the probability becomes still stronger that it belonged to the earlier building, of which the façade projected northwards at this part so as to include within it the whole system to which the 'bathroom' arrangement belongs. Now the remarkable fact is that this 'bathroom' is essentially the same in general architectural style, and accordingly must have had the same functions as the more celebrated arrangement of the same kind annexed to the Throne-room, which it now turns out belongs in construction to a comparatively late period in the history of the later palace.[3] A very characteristic feature of the Throne-room and its Antechamber at Knossos is the series of low benches in gypsum which run along the foot of the walls. It says much for the continuity of style between the earlier and the later period that we have the same arrangement at Phaestos, not only in the later palace as at 23[4], but also in an already excavated apartment of the earlier building just within the old West Façade at 2.[5]

As it happens, the systematic connections of the Throne-room at Knossos are too certain for any doubt to remain as to the general period to which it ought to be assigned. Further, in the Throne-room itself, among other characteristic objects was found a pithos of the same date as those in the Magazines and belonging like them to the latest period of the later palace. Accordingly the Throne-room and its 'bath' were in use

[1] *B.S.A.* viii. 56, Fig. 29. [2] *Ibid.* vii. 60, 61, Fig. 18, 62. [3] *Ibid.* x. 29, 32, Fig. 10, 33.
[4] *Mon. Ant.* xii., Tav. vii. 1. [5] *Ibid.* xiv. 405, 406, Fig. 37, 407–12.

down to the period which saw the destruction of the palace as a royal building, and which again must have been more or less contemporary with the period when the later palace at Phaestos (to which the State-entrance belongs) fell into disuse. Now it is true that Doerpfeld avoids this inevitable co-ordination of the data, but he only does so, as we have seen, by imagining in the West Wing of the Palace of Knossos a stratification of the remains analogous to that at Phaestos, whereas, as we have already pointed out, in this region at Knossos there was no stratification at all at a higher level but only incorporation of earlier elements into later constructions at the same level. Thus having once made that error, Doerpfeld, always in analogy with the specious but misleading example of Phaestos, imagines in the west wing of the palace at Knossos later remains at a higher level of stratification, including a supposed 'Achaean' type of megaron, which as a matter of fact do not exist.[1] It is with these supposed remains then that Doerpfeld co-ordinates the later remains at Phaestos, not with the corresponding ones at Knossos which include the Throne-room, the connected system of the Pillar-rooms, the domestic quarter of the palace, and the great Theatral Area.[2] As a further example, indeed, of continuity in architectural tradition might be instanced this Theatral Area itself, as paralleled for the earlier period by the Theatral Area of the earlier palace at Phaestos, were everybody disposed like Pernier to agree about the Knossian example in the same frank spirit with which Doerpfeld himself now accepts the one at Phaestos.[3] But there has been enough already of such cumulative evidence in the way of crucial instances to establish the general fact of fundamental unity and continuity of architectural style down to the latest palace period at Phaestos and at Knossos.

There remains now to consider Doerpfeld's theory of an 'Achaean' megaron at a higher level and in a later stratum in the West Wing of the palace at Knossos. The gist of that theory, it will be remembered, was to the effect that, in analogy with the processes of stratification at Phaestos, the megaron in question was not built until the magazines and the

[1] Doerpfeld's own words leave no doubt on this point. · 'Der jüngere, höher gelegene Palast ist in Knossos nur in geringen Resten erhalten und daher nicht mehr gut zu erkennen.' His theory, it will be noted, with its stereotyped conception of stratification, ignores the later palace at the lower level of the old one.

[2] *B.S.A.* ix. 99–112, Figs. 68, 69.

[3] *Mon. Ant.* xii. 31–3; xiv. 347, Fig. 13; 354, Fig. 16; 355, 356; *Ath. Mitth.* xxx. 266.

underlying system of the Pillar-rooms at Knossos were already buried, and that, accordingly, the floor of that megaron was not that of a system in an upper storey with a ground floor below, contemporarily in use, but of a system which itself formed a ground-floor laid out at a higher level above the earlier buried ground-floor of the Pillar-rooms and the connected system. Now there can be no doubt whatever that one of the arguments on which this theory is based is to be found in Arthur Evans's reconstruction of a Cretan type of megaron in this same area of the Pillar-rooms in which Doerpfeld seeks his 'Achaean' megaron.[1] But given the original inducement as a starting-point, we find that the whole of Doerpfeld's subsequent argument diverges at once into absolute contradiction with the conclusions which were to be legitimately drawn from the premisses established by the data which Evans had in view. Evans, of course, in agreement with the indications makes his megaron an upper-floor construction contemporary with the construction of the Pillar-rooms themselves, and it is an essential point in his argument that he regards the whole structural object of the pillars on the ground-floor to have been the support of columns of the megaron on the upper floor. Now it is not enough for Doerpfeld that he makes no use whatever of the pillars he has to hand on the ground-floor as an indication of what existed above, since, of course, with the misleading analogy of the stratification at Phaestos in view, he conceives these as buried in an earlier stratum before his 'Achaean' megaron was built. He ignores besides the evidence against his theory which actually exists on the ground-floor, in favour of other supposed data at a higher level, which have absolutely no existence whatever. In the Pillar-rooms were found the remains of a number of pithoi in position which, like those in the magazines and the one already referred to from the Throne-room, belong to the latest period of the later palace. It goes without saying that if the analogy with Phaestos were consistently carried out, these pithoi and the other finds from the west wing of the palace at Knossos ought in Doerpfeld's view to have come into the same general class as the early polychrome pithoi from the magazines underlying the light-well of the State-entrance at Phaestos, instead of which they must be co-ordinated with the pithoi in the later magazines at Phaestos to the south of the State-entrance.[2]

[1] *B.S.A.* vii. 21–7, Fig. 8.

[2] For the pithoi of the later palace at Knossos see *B.S.A.* vi. 22, Fig. 4, 23, Fig. 5.

The necessity for this co-ordination comes out in another way. In one of these later magazines at Phaestos, number 34, stands a pithos having a graffito inscription which comes into the same class as those of the inscribed tablets found in deposits on the floors adjacent to the Pillar-rooms at Knossos.[1] Deposits of similar inscribed tablets were found in the magazines at Knossos, notably in number 15, and occasional tablets, apparently from rooms on the upper floor, were found in deposit above the floor-level as well as inside some of the pithoi themselves which stand in the magazines.[2] What we find then is that very characteristic deposits from the magazines of the later palace at Phaestos have to be co-ordinated, not with the supposed deposits from an upper stratum at Knossos above the Pillar-rooms where Doerpfeld wants to place his 'Achaean' megaron, but with the deposits in these Pillar-rooms themselves and in their immediate ground-floor surroundings. The Pillar-rooms, we saw, contained pithoi exactly similar to those in the magazines, and in those of the magazines again, as well as in the magazines themselves, occurred inscribed tablets both occasional and in deposit, manifestly from the upper floors, of the same class as those belonging to the ground-floor in the immediate surroundings of the Pillar-rooms. The general conclusion is hardly to be avoided that all these ground-floors in the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos, taken as a connected whole, were continuously occupied and in use contemporaneously with the connected upper-floor apartments as long as the palace lasted as a Royal Building.

All this evidence from particular characteristic finds is completely in harmony with the general results of excavation as to the structural remains themselves. These, as I have said, are to the effect that in all that part of the West Wing of the Palace which includes the magazines and the area of the Pillar-rooms, there was no later stratification at a higher ground-floor level at all, but only incorporation of earlier elements into later constructions at the same ground-floor level. It follows as a direct consequence of

For the polychrome pithoi of the earlier palace at Phaestos see *Mon. Ant.* xiv., Tav. xxxiv. Tav. xxviii. *ib.* shows these pithoi in position on their earlier floor underlying that of the light-well of the State-entrance. For the pithoi of the later palace at Phaestos see *Mon. Ant.* xii. 53-4, Fig. 15.

[1] For this and a similar graffito inscription at Phaestos see *ib.* 54, 97-8, Figs. 31, 32. For the Knossos tablets referred to see *B.S.A.* vi. 29, 57-8, Room of the Chariot Tablets, 34, Corridor of the House Tablets, and a further deposit from the Room of the Column Bases.

[2] *Ibid.* vii. 43, where with good reasons it is suggested that this deposit was also from the upper storey.

this evidence that whatever repairs or remodellings took place at the lower level were repairs and remodellings of a ground-floor system, and that whatever repairs or remodellings took place at the higher level in which Doerpfeld seeks his 'Achaean' megaron, were really repairs and remodellings of apartments in the upper storey. There are then earlier and later elements of construction on the ground-floor and there were earlier and later elements on the upper floor. Thus Doerpfeld is undoubtedly right in regarding the West Façade of the building, together with the connected system within, as an early element of construction, but he is wrong in believing that any stratification took place within this façade corresponding to what took place at Phaestos. At Knossos we have one west façade which remained the same throughout the history of the building as a whole. At Phaestos we have two façades: an earlier, which became buried as the result of the processes of stratification, and a later, constructed at a subsequent date out of line with the earlier one further east and at a higher level. Thus from the point of view of an architect attempting to construct an intelligible plan of the remains, the problem at Knossos, as far as this part of the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos is concerned, was essentially different from that at Phaestos. At Knossos a façade which is in systematic connection with elements in the buildings which are of the same period and also with elements that are of later date, has in the first instance to be regarded as an integral element in the plan of the building as a whole in its latest form, as that continued in use up to the time of its destruction. Thus the plan of the building as a whole, in so far as the connection of structural elements of whatever date is systematic and without any stratification, has also in the first instance to present that building as a totality of parts in systematic relation to each other. This is what was done at Knossos, yet Doerpfeld (p. 258) seems to suggest that the circumstances were entirely similar at Knossos and at Phaestos, and that in fact at Knossos in the West Wing of the Palace there was a stratification and a reconstruction at a higher similar level to that at Phaestos; whereas, as I have said, there was only incorporation of earlier elements into later reconstructions at the same level, in such a way that the resultant remodelled system regarded architecturally is itself a unity. The work of distinguishing what is earlier and later in this unity is entirely different from that of distinguishing what is earlier and later in stratifications that as parts of a system have nothing to do

with each other. The first function, then, of a plan in a preliminary report is to represent this unity as such. Later comes the more detailed work of distinguishing and exhibiting (1) what is earlier and what is later within this unity, (2) what is earlier and what is later without this unity as a matter of natural stratification.

Having once supposed an 'Achaean' megaron at a higher level at Knossos in analogy with the supposed 'Achaean' megaron at a higher level and in a later stratum at Phaestos, Doerpfeld ceases to believe in a real upper storey in the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos; although the real starting-point at Knossos of the whole process of reasoning was Evans's reconstructed megaron, and Evans himself, in harmony with the evidence, expressly makes it clear that his megaron is on the upper floor. At the same time Doerpfeld still attaches importance to the small size of the rooms on the ground-floor, especially in the West Wing of the Palace, in support of his views as to their earlier Cretan character in supposed contrast with the architectural manner of a later time. Yet on other occasions he has explained most of them as basement magazines or store-rooms which had more important rooms above them. He now, however, no longer says anything about the great halls that must have existed above the magazines, reckoning from the third of these to the eighteenth and beyond. Yet there must have been at least three if not four of these lit conveniently by means of windows in the west façade of the building.[1] All this change of stand-point is of course in view of the stratification of the later remains at Phaestos, with which, as has been shown, Doerpfeld has come to regard the stratification at Knossos to be in complete analogy. Thus it has come about that with this change of front there is no longer any upper storey in the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos, but only later stratified remains at a higher level, including an 'Achaean' type of megaron, which as identified with Evans's reconstructed megaron curiously enough turns out to coincide all the same with the level of an upper storey.

With his change of stand-point Doerpfeld has not only ceased to take any account of the evidence which was available when he used still to believe in the existence of an upper storey above the magazines at Knossos, but he also ignores the further evidence in favour of his former

[1] The possibility of such façade windows need no longer surprise us after the discovery at Knossos of the faience tablets with similar windows. It is extremely interesting to note that the windows on these tablets are always upper-floor windows: so are those postulated for the West Façade of the Palace. See *B.S.A.* viii. 14–22, Figs. 8–10.

view that has been since accumulating. Thus to take a crucial example, nothing whatever is said of the evidence that turned up in 1904 in the cists of the Thirteenth Magazine; these were found to contain remains of wall-painting which could only have belonged to a hall on the upper floor occupying the area covered by the Magazines, reckoning from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth inclusive.[1] The alternately thick and thin walls of these magazines, as Doerpfeld himself has often explained to visitors of the site, are not explicable on the supposition of any functions they perform in relation to the magazines themselves, but only in relation to the walls, floors, column-systems, and other structures of an important hall on the upper floor. This hall, to which the remains of wall-painting are to be assigned, belonged in construction to a relatively early period ending with the date at which the cists containing the wall-painting were closed.[2] Yet there can be no doubt that the hall in a remodelled form also existed in the second period of the palace, which began with the remodelling of the cists in the Thirteenth Magazine. The only possible, though not probable, alternative to this would be to suppose that in the later period the magazines remained without an upper storey, for the pithoi and other finds, inclusive of the inscribed tablets from these, belong themselves, as we have already seen, to the latest period of the Palace; so that the magazines continued in use down to the latest days of the Palace as a Royal Building. Against any such supposition, indeed, excavation has yielded positive proof, for the hall which occupied the upper floor above the magazines from the sixth to the tenth inclusive was actually remodelled at the same time as the closing of the cists in the Thirteenth Magazine.[3] Magazines 7 and 9, at the period which saw the closing of the cists, had each a strong pier of ashlar masonry in limestone introduced into them, projecting partially over the adjacent blocked up cists, and meant to support new columns for the upper remodelled hall.[4] Now we cannot imagine

[1] For an account of this important discovery and a description of the wall-painting, see *B.S.A.* x. 39–45.

[2] Georg Karo, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. 513, strangely assigns all this upper storey to the period of remodelling of the palace, in spite of the conclusive evidence brought forward by Evans from the cists of the Thirteenth Magazine, showing clearly that the remains of wall-painting found in these belonged to the period preceding that at which the cists were closed, and so to the decorations of the original upper hall. See *B.S.A.* x. 39–45, and Pl. II.

[3] In the cists of Magazine 9 were found fragments of wall-painting, including part of a spotted bull, which could only have belonged to the original hall above: see *ibid.* 44–5.

[4] See Pl. VII., also *B.S.A.* viii. Pl. I. Magazines 7 and 9.

that these piers in supposed relation to a later stratum above were built deep down into earlier deposits, for their well faced ashlar masonry, with its painting in one piece with that of the magazine, is evidence to the contrary.[1] This one instance of the remodelling of an upper hall at the period of the closing or remodelling of the cists may safely be said to imply the reconstruction of the greater hall to the north, to which belonged the remains of wall-painting found in the cists of the Thirteenth Magazine. A further implication is that these halls must have had the same dimensions and general appearance in the second period of the palace which they had in the first. At the same time the construction of the new piers taken in conjunction with the presence *in situ* of the pithoi of this period, which again contained occasional inscribed tablets from the upper storey, affords cumulative proof that the magazines themselves were still in use at the period to which belong the remodelled halls above; and that, accordingly, the plan of this part of the building, on the lower as on the upper floor, continued the same during the whole of the period taken up by the history of the Palace as a Royal Building, down to the time of its total destruction, when the decadent period of partial occupation began. Here, however, the argument might be urged against us that the fact of wholesale incorporation of earlier elements of construction into the later system was itself responsible for the identity of plan in this instance in the later as in the earlier period at Knossos. What, however, do we find at Phaestos? There with all the seeming alteration, brought about partly as a result of a process of stratification which, as we saw, did not come into play at Knossos, partly as the outcome of the free initiative of an architect working out a new plan which, in its orientation and systematic connection of parts, did not require to take account of the levelled up remains below, we have all the same a relation of upper halls on a large scale to narrow magazines and store-rooms below which is identical with that which held in the case of the earlier upper-floor halls and ground-floor magazines.[2] There can indeed be no doubt whatever that on the upper floor of the Earlier Palace above the early magazines, at 5–5 on the Phaestos plan, with their solid walls for supporting upper floors, there existed a large hall of the Earlier Palace with a window or windows looking out on the earlier West Façade; and probably

[1] These data are very clear in the case of the better preserved north pier, as shown in Pl. VII.

[2] One such magazine appears at B on the Plan with a splendid pithos in the corner, similar in style to the Middle Minoan III pithoi of the East Magazine at Knossos. See *B.S.A.* x. 12, Fig. 3.

also on the early portico at 3, similar to, though apparently of larger size than, the hall of the Later Palace which existed on the upper floor above the later magazines 27–36, and which also must have had its window or windows in the Later West Façade. In this way, notwithstanding the element of contingency that had to be reckoned with on account of the difference in the process of stratification, to which reference has been made, we find that the regular sequence in development, marking the continuity of connection between earlier and later in either case, is the same at Knossos as at Phaestos. Thus, instead of large halls being specially characteristic of the later period, it turns out that the earlier halls in the West Wing of the Palace at Knossos were of exactly the same size as the later ones, while in one instance at Phaestos an earlier hall was apparently of even grander proportions than the corresponding later one.

The important fact has been already referred to that pithoi like those of the magazines, and equally belonging to the latest period of the Palace, were found in the Pillar-rooms and those adjoining, as well as in the Throne-room, and that accordingly any remodelling that took place in this area was one which left the ground-floor rooms intact and in continuous use, together with the apartments on the upper floor. There is one notable exception: the portico already referred to in another connection, leading on to the upper floor from the west façade of the Central Court.[1] Now this portico, which plays an intrinsic part in Evans's reconstructed megaron, we have already found to have been so essentially Cretan in general style that we need not expect the megaron itself which adjoined it to have been very different in style. Least of all does this portico lead us to expect adjoining it a megaron of full-fledged Mycenaean type. That megaron was one on an upper floor, not in a later stratum, and just as the remodelling which took place in the upper halls above the magazines was not one which involved an intrinsic alteration of plan in this part of the building, so any alterations that took place in the upper floor in the region of the Pillar-rooms could never have been of so complete a character as to have left these pillars themselves in their functional relations to the upper floor entirely out of account. What we have then is continuity of plan, with remodellings in details, in all this part of the West Wing of the Palace; and just again as there was no stratification at all, so there was no real break in the continuity of

[1] See again *B.S.A.* vii. 21–7, Fig. 8.

architectural style. It is this whole system, not Doerpfeld's supposed 'Achaean' megaron at a higher level and in a later stratum, that has to be co-ordinated with the State-entrance, and the connected system at Phaestos. That 'Achaean' megaron, did it exist at all, would be found to belong, not to the same period as the State-entrance and the Later Palace at Phaestos, but to the much later era succeeding the decadent period of re-occupation when there was no longer any palace at Knossos. To the intervening period of re-occupation belong any megara of mainland type that have ever been identified in the Aegean, as is very clearly illustrated by an example that ought to be well known :—that of Phylakopi in Melos, with its gable entrance and its central hearth in the hall.[1] To the same period and type apparently belongs the late megaron at Hagia Triada which Halbherr himself regards as really Mycenaean, but which Doerpfeld, in apparent contradiction of his own argument,[2] repudiates with the suggestion that we possibly have here the foundations of a Greek temple.[3]

Those who favour the 'Achaean' theory and the Achaean invasion of Crete will find it difficult to dispose of the fact that this invasion from the mainland, when it did take place, came far too late in the day to be available as a factor in the development of the Cretan Civilization itself. Yet there can be no doubt that the general cumulative tendency of the evidence afforded by excavation is to prove that the first wave of invading peoples from the mainland (who were themselves very apparently of Mycenaean race, of the same original stock as the Cretans themselves, and therefore, as we shall see in the sequel, not at all of 'Achaean' origin), who were responsible for the final destruction of the later palaces at Phaestos and at Knossos, had themselves appeared too late upon the scene to play any reconstructive rôle in the development of the Minoan Civilization ;

[1] See Fig. 4 and *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, 56–7, Figs. 49, 50. 267–71, note 1. The latter part of this note has now to be corrected in view of recent evidence as to the incorporation of earlier elements into the later constructions at Knossos.

[2] That is to say, that the people of Mycenae were Achaeans, which we believe to be wrong.

[3] *Ath. Mitt. ib.* 271. The truth is that all the evidence as to Achaean settlement in the Aegean is of too late a character to assist Doerpfeld's theory as to the supposed Achaean builders of the Later Palaces in Crete ; but that is no valid reason for rejecting the conflicting mainland evidence which exists, in favour of other supposed confirmatory evidence which does not exist at all. The probable bearing of the rejected evidence I happened to touch upon on another occasion in reference to the mainland type of the palace at Phylakopi, and there I also made allusion to the late Mycenaean (though not necessarily Achaean) remains above the Palace at Hagia Triada, rejected by Doerpfeld, as a probable Cretan case in point. See *Excavations at Phylakopi*, 271 and note 1.

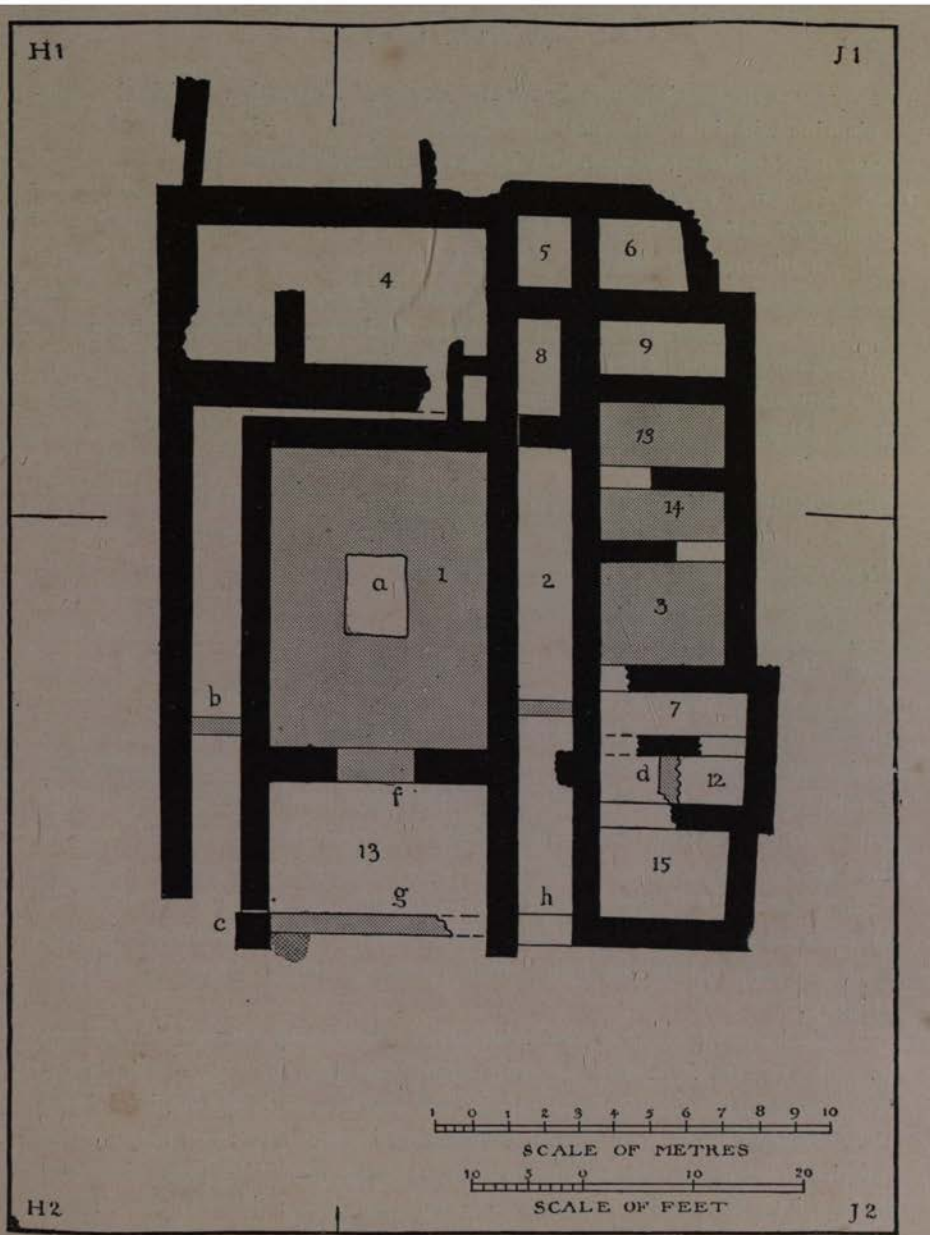


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF THE MYCENAEAN PALACE AT PHYLAKOPI.

(After *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*, p. 56, Fig. 49.)

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they were responsible merely for the work of dissolution which, in combination with internal causes of decadence, symptomatic of the final phase, was one of the potent external influences at work in the final break-up of the Aegean Civilization as a whole. When at length the first wave of people of Achaean race and of Hellenic stock appeared upon the stage of Cretan history, the Palace of Knossos, like that of Phaestos, had already long been a venerable ruin. The evidence is fast accumulating in Crete and in the Aegean in favour of the hypothesis as to the continuity of the Mycenaeo-Minoan Civilization down to quite the end of the period after the destruction of the Palace at Knossos which we have called the Third Late Minoan Period (Late Minoan III.). It is in connection with, and as the result of, the continuous and persistent influence of those race-movements from the north which filled Greece with people of Hellenic race, that about the end of the Late Minoan Age, at a period when, as we have said, the Palace of Knossos had long been a ruin but the city was still inhabited by people of Mycenaeo-Minoan stock, that the first Achaeans appear upon the stage of Cretan history. It is thus not a little significant that all the archaeological data which tend to bring a pre-Achaean Mycenaean immigration into the Aegean and to Crete into close connection with the fact of the continuity of the Minoan Civilization, in the period immediately succeeding the destruction of the Cretan Palaces, tend as distinctly to widen the breach in continuity that intervenes with the later race-movements of a disparate character; so that on the later side of the interval, the Achaean invasion of Crete appears in the guise of a mere prelude to Hellenic invasions in general; just as certainly as the Late Mycenaean—or let us say at once, Pelasgian—invasion of an earlier era seems to sum up in the form of epilogue the latest phase of Minoan History.[1]

We have now arrived at a stage in our inquiry when it is possible to affirm in the form of a general conclusion that the hypothesis of an Achaean construction of the later Cretan palaces, and (by implication) of the Achaean character of Cretan Civilization is disproved; not only by the positive evidence offered by the continuous character of Cretan architecture, lasting into the period which succeeded the destruction of the Cretan

[1] We must thus be on our guard against accepting assumptions such as underlie Karo's suggestion that we should now in reference to different phases of the Minoan Civilization begin to talk conventionally not only of what is 'achäisch,' but of what is still earlier and 'altachäisch'! See Altkretische Kultstätten in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, vii. 117.

palaces, and confirmed by other results of excavation; but also by the negative evidence, the absence of the supposed Achaean phenomena even at the final stage, and their presence at the later period, which marked the dawn of a new age and of Hellenic migrations. This is true, not only of the culmination of Cretan Civilization as represented by the later palaces at Phaestos and at Knossos, but also of its era of gradual decadence as illustrated by the remains of the period of partial occupation, when the Palace was already a ruin, but Knossos was still a Minoan city as of old.

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(To be continued.)

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ATTIC VASES.

ONE of the most interesting phenomena in the history of ceramic art is the absorption of the market of the world by Attic ware. The sixth-century tombs of Italy, Sicily and elsewhere show a gradual decrease in importations from Corinth, Chalcis, Cyrene and Ionia, and by the time of the beginning of the fifth century the Attic black- and red-figured ware has acquired a complete monopoly. The area over which these Attic vases were distributed comprises almost the whole of the world as known at that time—Greece Proper, the Aegean Islands, the Cyrenaica, Egypt, Asia Minor, the Crimea and above all Italy and Sicily. The question suggests itself how far this large and varied export was influenced by the special demand in various localities; how far, in fact, each locality had its own definite needs for special vase forms, which the ceramic trade of Athens was to supply.

The determination of this question ought to yield some useful results. We know that ancient pottery was not purely ornamental, but also served some practical purpose. Thus a survey of the distribution of Attic vases will enable us to form an estimate of the varying demands for these household utensils in different localities—a fact which will often throw light on the produce and customs of that country. Moreover, a large supply of Attic vases in a certain place marks active and more or less direct communication between that city and Athens; and this will give us more data on a subject of which little is at present known—the trade of Athens in the period of her prime.

This paper is no attempt to deal with the distribution of Attic vases as a whole. All I have endeavoured to do is to ascertain what the Attic vases in the National Museum at Athens contribute towards this question of geographical distribution. The Athenian collection consists almost entirely of finds made in Greece proper, more particularly in Attica. A study of the Athenian vases will, therefore, give us a fair idea of what forms were produced for the home market, and even a rough comparison with those found in other localities should reveal important differences, if any existed.

To gauge the demand of a country for a certain article entirely from the specimens found in tombs would be somewhat hazardous; we must therefore not lose sight of the fact that our information on this point is incomplete. Thus a comparison of the number of Attic amphorae and hydriae found in Italy and in Greece might lead us to suppose that the demand in Attica for these vases was insignificant; but this phenomenon can also be explained by the different character of Etruscan and Greek tombs. In Etruria the lofty grave-chambers naturally suggested stately vases as the most appropriate offerings to the dead. The Greek graves are more often simple pits, like our own graves, and vases of small dimensions can be placed inside with greater convenience than any others. However, these facts will not account for all the variations in distribution; the loutrophoroi and the tall white lekythoi would have been appropriate even in large Italian tombs, while, though it is natural that in a large grave-chamber vases of some size should form the chief furniture, nevertheless, since small-sized vases are also found in them, the fact that certain varieties are almost totally absent must be explained on other grounds.

To give a general idea of the chief shapes that make up the Athenian collection, their provenance and in what proportion they occur, a tabular arrangement may prove useful. To show the difference in distribution I have placed side by side with the Athenian examples vases of these same shapes found in Etruria and Campania, and now placed in the British Museum, in Berlin and in the Hermitage. There are many such vases from Italy stored elsewhere, but I have chosen these three museums as typical, and have selected Etruria and Campania as the sites in Italy where the greatest finds have been made. In the case of the Athenian collection my information is derived from personal observation, and, owing to extensive recent additions, in many cases the figures do not correspond with those in the Collignon and Couve Catalogue.

'Unknown provenance' signifies that the exact provenance has been irremediably lost; in most cases, however, it is safe to assume that the vases have been found on Greek territory. Where numbers are given they refer to the Collignon and Couve Catalogue, except where an asterisk (*) is placed above the number, when the reference is to the Museum number, the vase being a recent addition and therefore not mentioned in the Catalogue.

	GREECE. Athens Museum.								ETRURIA AND CAMPANIA.			
	Unknown Provenance.	Attica.	Boeotia.	Tanagra.	Euboea.	Eretria.	Other Sites.	Total of Greece.	Total for Italy.	British Museum.	Perlin Museum.	Hermitage.
Amphorae—												
A. Black-figured amphorae of usual type	5	3	5	2	—	—	*Aegina.* 1 — *Megara.* 1	17	250	86	75	89
B. Red-figured of usual type... ...	27	17	4	6	—	—	*Korinth.* 4 — *Phocis.* 3 — *Locris.* 1 — *Aegina.* 3 — *Cythnos.* 1 — *Crete.* 2 — *Rhodes.* 1 — *Skyros.* 2 — *Cyrene.* 1	72	163	92	47	24
Black-figured Panathenaic	—	4	1	1	—	—	... ...	6	29	28	1	—
Loutrophoroi—												
A. Black-figured ...	3	1	—	—	—	—	... ...	4	—	—	—	—
B. Red-figured	7	2	—	—	—	—	... ...	9	—	—	—	—
Lebetes gamikoi—												
Red-figured...	6	12	2	—	—	—	... ...	20	—	—	—	—
Hydriae—												
A. Black-figured ...	6	3	1	1	—	1	*Aegina.* 2	14	96	45	19	32
B. Red-figured	14	12	1	—	1	4	*Crete.* 1	33	58	41	5	12
Kylikes—												
A. Black-figured ...	44	7	7	8	—	—	*Korinth.* 8 — *Chalcis.* 1	75	101	34	42	25 — 59 (red-figured).
B. Red-figured	16	6	2	2	—	2	*Korinth.* 3 — *Hermione.* 2 — *Nisyros.* 1	34	258	86	46	63 (all black).
Skyphoi and Kotylae—												
A. Black-figured ...	16	3	9	17	—	1	*Korinth.* 4 — *Chalcis.* 1 — *Aegina.* 3 — *Megara.* 1	55				
B. Red-figured	9	2	4	1	—	—	*Korinth.* 1 — *Phocis.* 1 — *Locris.* 2	20				
Kantharoi—												
A. Black-figured ...	2	—	2	1	—	—	... ... *Phocis.* 1	5	31 A.	10	—	21 — 71 (all black).
B. Red-figured	5	—	—	—	—	—		6	267 B.	22	24	150
Cups of various shapes—												
A. Black-figured ...	—	2	1	—	—	7	... ... *Hermione.* 1	10				
B. Red-figured	2	1	—	—	—	2		6				
Kraters—												
A. Black-figured	1 "Corinthian" 3	1 fragment, 1 "Corinthian" (amphora à colonette)	—	—	—	—	... ...	3	8	1	—	7
B. Red-figured ...	47 (probably in many cases Boeotian)	—	58	7	—	—	*Crete.* 1 — *Hermione.* 3 — *Lamias.* 1	117	62	17	4	41

Lekythoi—												
A. Black-figured ...	109	83 (25 of these are from tumulus at Marathon)	15	39	—	51	*Korinth.* 1 *Aegina.* 1 *Megara.* 4 *Salamis.* 2 *Chalcis.* 1	306	77	—	26	51
B. Red-figured	65	84	3	16	—	71	*Korinth.* 1 *Kleonae.* 1 *Megara.* 2 *Locris.* 1	244	58	17	14	10 (all black). 17
C. Polychrome on white or buff ground	82	111	—	2	—	135	*Korinth.* 2 *Aegina.* 1 *Megara.* 1 *Salamis.* 2	336	—	—	—	—
Oinochoae—												
A. Black-figured ...	12	4	—	—	—	1	*Korinth.* 3 *Aegina.* 1 *Chalcis.* 1 *Rhodes.* 3 *Melos.* 1 *Phocis.* 1	25	70	17	20	33
B. Red-figured	30	41 (1 polychrome)	—	1	—	15		89	115	23	28	38 (all black). 26
Aryballoi and Alabastra—												
A. Black-figured ...	—	7	2	—	—	2	... ...	11	4	—	2	2
B. Red-figured	3 (1 on buff ground)	7 (1 on buff ground)	—	1	—	2 (1 on white ground)	*Atalanti.* 1	13	—	—	—	—
Pyxides—												
A. Black-figured ...	5	8	4	7	—	3	*Korinth.* 2	29	9	—	—	9
B. Red-figured	20 (1 polychrome)	19	1	3	—	13	*Korinth.* 1 *Aegina.* 1 *Megara.* 1 *Nisyros.* 1	60 (1 polychrome)	—	—	—	—
Onoi	2	5	1	1	—	2	... ...	11	—	—	—	—
Askoi—												
A. Black-figured ...	2	—	1	1	—	1	*Lamias.* 1	6	—	—	—	—
B. Red-figured	2	—	—	1	—	1	*Lamias.* 1	5	—	—	—	—
Oil flasks—												
Black-figured	—	—	—	7	—	—	... ...	7	—	—	—	—
Bowls—												
Black-figured	1	—	1	—	—	—	... ...	2	—	—	—	—
Diskoi—												
Red-figured	2	—	—	—	—	—	... ...	2	—	—	—	—
Plates—												
A. Black-figured ...	7	9	2	3	—	4	*Korinth.* 3	28	—	—	—	—
B. Red-figured	6	—	1	—	—	—	... ...	7	—	—	—	—
Lebetes—												
Red-figured	3	1	—	—	—	—	... ...	4	—	—	—	—
Pinakes—												
A. Black-figured ...	4	4	—	—	—	—	... ...	8	—	—	—	—
B. Red-figured	1	1	—	—	—	—	... ...	2	—	—	—	—

In drawing any inferences from the above classification, we must bear in mind that our arguments affect painted vases only. It is quite possible, for instance, that the remarkably small supply of amphorae in Attica is to be explained by the fact that for storage, plain, undecorated vases were used. We cannot but regret that Museums for the most part exclude vases of this humbler sort: our picture must therefore, necessarily, be incomplete. If an exact record had been kept of all the vases that have come to light, quite apart from their artistic value or antiquarian interest, we should be in a better position to form an estimate both of the full extent of the ceramic trade, and of how far undecorated vases took the place of painted ware.

Summing up the evidence which is supplied by our classification, we find that the chief demand in Italy was primarily for amphorae, hydriae, kylikes, oinochoae, and, to a less extent, for lekythoi, krateres and cups. The demand for loutrophoroi, lebetes gamikoi, onoi, white lekythoi,[1] red-figured aryballoi and pyxides was confined to Greece; both black- and red-figured lekythoi are much more numerous here than in Italy. The four shapes mentioned as having been found in great quantities in Etruria and Campania—the amphora, hydria, kylix and oinochoë—are also found in Greece, but to a much smaller extent. Krateres were not popular in Greece except in Boeotia, where they were almost the favourite shape.

Though our information on ancient pottery is scanty, we can, nevertheless, with the help of some notices by ancient grammarians, as well as with the evidence which is supplied by the paintings and inscriptions on the vessels themselves, make out with tolerable accuracy what were the chief uses of Attic vases.[2] We know, at least, that amphorae were used for storing wine, oil, and grain; hydriae correspond to our modern water-pitchers; lekythoi, aryballoi and pyxides were employed for the toilet of women; the two former also for the palaestra; again lekythoi, oinochoae and phialae for funereal purposes; krateres, oinochoae, kylikes and other cups were in use at banquets. With this knowledge, we ought to be able to learn from the differences in the distribution of shapes,

[1] In the case of the white lekythoi 'confined to Greece' means as compared with Etruria and Campania; a considerable number have been found at Gela (cf. *e.g.* those in the Ashmolean Museum) and also a few at Locri.

[2] Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I. ch. 4.

the respective local needs which the ceramic trade of Attica had to supply.

Thus, it seems that in Attica a large number of painted vases were furnished for toilet needs and for special usages: while in Etruria and Campania the demand was almost entirely for shapes used at banquets and for storage. Except for the curiously small supply of store vessels in Attica (to explain which I have already suggested the use of plain ware), this distribution is very much what we should expect it to be. It is only natural that, while a distant country like Etruria should satisfy only a few of her needs from the imports of Athens, the people of Attica and adjoining regions should have a greater variety of wants to be filled from the workshops of the potters, with whom they could be in direct communication; thus we find several shapes confined to Attica only.

It is noteworthy that in Greece itself the distribution varies. In Eretria the choice of vases seems to have been similar to that of Athens, the favourite shapes being the lekythos (more particularly the white lekythos), the oinochoë, the pyxis and the aryballos. In Eretria, as in Attica, therefore, the young men who practised in the palaestra and the women who attended to their toilet in the γυναικονίτις were the chief customers of the workers in the Ceramikos. This shows similar conditions to those which prevailed in Athens, namely the great attention paid to the bodily development of young men, and the seclusion in which women lived, their chief pastime being the adornment of their own persons. In Boeotia, on the other hand, the krater, skyphos and kylix are the predominant types; from which we infer that it was for table use that the Boeotians chiefly drew on the potters' supplies at Athens.

When we find that banqueting vases were in great request in Etruria, the remarks of ancient authors on the character of the Etruscans naturally occur to us. They were evidently fond of good living. Thus Vergil, *Georg.* ii. 193, speaks of "pinguis Tyrrhenus," and Catullus, 39. 11, uses the expression "obesus Etruscus." Their drinking bouts were famous, and the fact that women as well as men took part in them shocked the feelings of the Greeks. We can well imagine that at these great feasts the luxurious Etruscans wished to have the finest ware for their table service, and it is not surprising that the graceful shapes and delicate decoration of Attic vases appealed to them as appropriate.

The fact that toilet vases are found so little in Etruria cannot be accounted for by the supposition that Etruscan ladies had simpler tastes than their Greek sisters, since we know from Etruscan sarcophagi and representations on mirrors that the toilet of Etruscan women was exceedingly elaborate. The explanation may be that, since working in metal was one of the chief industries in Etruria, metal jewel-boxes and ointment flasks took the place of clay products. More than eighty metal cistae, which would correspond to Greek pyxides, have been found chiefly at Praeneste (cf. *e.g.* Br. Mus. *Cat. Bronzes*, Nos. 741–747). The absence of more can easily be explained by the fact that articles in bronze are apt to be removed prematurely on account of their value.

Since the Athenian collection is particularly interesting for the special shapes manufactured almost exclusively for the home market, which are represented better here than in any other collection, I shall endeavour to describe these more fully. These vases are often connected with definite rites, such as marriage ceremonies (loutrophoroi and the so-called λέβητες γαμικοί) and burial customs (loutrophoroi and white lekythoi). Or, again, they are used for special purposes; for example, children's presents and toys (diminutive oinochoae), and implements for carding wool (onoi). Besides these we have the red-figured aryballos and pyxis connected with the toilet of women and the red- and black-figured lekythos, which, though in general use everywhere, occurs with remarkable frequency in Greece.

(I.) *Loutrophoros.*—The loutrophoros[1] and lebes gamikos[2] are both connected with one of those picturesque customs which lend a special charm to Southern life. In the former, Athenian maidens brought water for the bridal bath from the spring Kallirrhoë,[3] and this was then kept in

[1] For literature on the loutrophoros cf. Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitth.* xviii. Taf. 2, who was the first to give the right interpretation to this shape; Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi. p. 372; Herzog, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, p. 131; Furtwängler, *Samml. Sab.* i., text to Plate LVIII., LII.; Collignon, article *Loutrophoros*, Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. ant. Gr. et Rom.* p. 1,318. For the derivation of the type cf. Brückner and Pernice, *Ath. Mitth.* xviii. 1899, pp. 73–190.

[2] The identification of the λέβης γαμικός mentioned in the Eleusinian temple inventory with the variety of amphora with a high foot and double handles is due to Dr. Zahn. Panofka had proposed the name θερμοπότις, and based his interpretation on the fact that holes occur on the upper part of the high stand; these he thought served for the purpose of letting through the draught for the fire kindled beneath. But these holes are found on a very small proportion of the vases (only on two out of the twenty examples in the Athens Museum). For an explanation of these holes cf. Wolters, *Vasen aus Menidi* ii., page 129, *Jahrbuch* 1899. They may have served for the insertion of the fingers for more convenient lifting. For further literature on the subject of the vases cf. Robert, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882; Hartwig, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897; Furtwängler, *Samml. Sab.*, Pl. LXVIII. 1; Couve, *B.C.H.* 1898, p. 277.

[3] Cf. Hesychius' Lexikon, λουτροφόρα ἄγγη.

the lebes till needed. The loutrophoros was also placed on the tomb of an Attic maiden or youth who died unmarried, the idea being that the marriage had taken place with Hades. It is small wonder, therefore, that the loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi of the Athens Museum form so large a proportion of the total number of extant specimens, and that the few examples which belong to other collections are derived from Attica.[1] Shapes, which in their use are bound up with customs so entirely local, are naturally not required elsewhere.

The collection of loutrophoroi in the Athens Museum is valuable also because in it we can trace the different stages of development through which this type of vase passed.

As prototypes of the loutrophoros form we may regard shapes such as Nos. 468 and 594, the former belonging to the Geometric and the latter to the Orientalising period. No. 468[2] is of the hydria type with two small horizontal handles and a high vertical one. No. 594[3] has two high vertical handles, which, besides being attached to the vase in the usual way at the neck and shoulder, have additional props joining them to the lower part of the neck.

The further stages through which the type passed, as illustrated in this collection, may be classified as follows:—

A.—Black-figured technique.

(1) Type with two high vertical handles and the usual prothesis representation.

(*a*) No. 689, with additional props for the handles and a zone of animals running round the bottom of the vase.

(*b*) No. 688, props for handles dispensed with; a chariot race substituted for the zone of animals.

(*c*) No. 690, 12947; the prothesis is the only representation on the body of the vase.

(2) Hydria type with two handles.

(*d*) No. 12947; in decoration similar to (*c*).

[1] Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi., p. 378, gives a list of loutrophoroi known to him and brings up the list to 34. All these are derived from Attica. Miss King, *A.J.A.* 1903, p. 324, mentions three votive ones not on this list—two in the National Museum at Athens (Nos. 12540, 12280) and one in the Louvre. To this increased list must now be added No. 13032, a recent acquisition of the Athens Museum, which will be mentioned again later (see Appendix I.), and also an example now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

[2] Cf. Boehlau, *Jahrbuch* ii. 1887, p. 34.

[3] Cf. Stais, *Ath. Mitth.* xv. 1890, p. 327.

B.—Red-figured technique.

(*e*) No. 1168; in shape and decoration similar to (*c*).

(*f*) No. 1167; the hydria type with two horizontal and one vertical handle—the subject represented is still the prothesis. The neck has become much slimmer and the curve of the mouth wider.

(*g*) Nos. 1224, 1225, 1226—type with two handles, but distinguished from the earlier examples by their slim form and softer curves (cf. *d*). In No. 1225 the mouth has assumed the shape of a flat plate and the foot is much wider than before. On all the above examples the wave or snake-line, painted in white, runs round the rim. The subject of representation is a marriage scene. Nos. 12280, 12540, 1227 (height 0·27 m.) are miniature examples, with scenes taken from the daily life in the women's apartments. On only one of these can a snake line be recognised.

(*h*) No. 13032 is of the regular type with two vertical handles, but it is late in style, and the subject represented is unique on a vase of this shape. It cannot be interpreted either as a marriage or a funereal scene. As this loutrophoros has not yet been published, I have described it in detail below (see Appendix i.).

In the cave of Vari 32 miniature loutrophoroi were found. These have been explained as offerings which young girls brought to the nymphs before their marriage (cf. *A.J.A.* 1903, p. 324).

(II.) *Lebes gamikos.*—The lebetes gamikoi (amphorae on a high foot with double handles) in the Athens Museum[1] fully bear out the present view as to their original purpose, viz., that of storing the water for the bridal bath. All the twenty specimens are of the red-figured ware,[2] and of these all, except four, belong to the second period of this style. The other four are of the third or late period, and of these, two come from Boeotia, one from an unknown provenance, and one (of miniature type) from Attica. Each one of the twenty examples is decorated with scenes

[1] For lebetes gamikoi in other collections cf. Berlin Museum 2404–2406; 2649; Hermitage Collection 1811; *Samml. Sabouroff.* Pl. 68[1]; British Museum B 298, E 810; Fröhner, *Coll. Lecuyer* (1883) No. 368. With the one exception of the example in the Hermitage, which was found at Kertch, the above are all derived from Attica.

[2] Among the Acropolis sherds, however, there are some fragments of black-figured lebetes gamikoi, and in the above list B 298 of the British Museum is of the black-figured technique. The shape ilself goes even further back, cf. *e.g.* the Eretria vases of archaic style, in the Athens Museum, which, besides the high foot, have the same vertical handles. Cf. also the vases found at Menidi; Wolters, *Vasen aus Menidi* ii., *Jahrbuch* 1899, p. 126.

from the γυναικονίτις, many of which may be interpreted with certainty as marriage ceremonies. This fact of itself implies a close connexion between this vase form and an Athenian wedding; moreover, there are four vase-paintings in the Museum on which this shape occurs: an onos (No. 1588), a pyxis (No. 1959), a fragment of a pyxis lid (No. 1970), and a vase of the lebes gamikos type (No. 1228).[1] In all, except the last, a loutrophoros is also represented on the scene. In No. 1228 a woman seems to be lifting the lid of the vase, but, unfortunately, the pot is broken just at this point, and it is impossible to make out anything further.

No. 1970 is an unpublished fragment, and the scene depicted on it suggests the idea that lebetes gamikoi were given as wedding presents (see Appendix ii.).

(III.) *White Lekythos.*—In the white lekythoi of the Athens Museum we can trace a gradual development from the earliest type, where the black glaze, in different solutions, is used for drawing the figures in outline on a buff or white ground, to the true polychrome style which employs blue, red and green to heighten the pictorial effect of the composition. The distribution of white lekythoi is very singular. They have been found in great quantities both in Attica and in Eretria, but elsewhere in Greece they are rare. Again, all over Italy they are unknown, except at Gela in Sicily, and also, to a slight extent, at Locri. The purpose of the vase was exclusively funereal,[2] but this does not throw any light on their peculiar distribution, which still remains unexplained.

(IV.) *Diminutive Oinochoë.*—A great proportion of the oinochoae found in Greece[3] are of very small dimensions, some measuring only 2 in. in

[1] For the onos cf. Hartwig, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, p. 138 and Pl. X. The reproduction on Pl. X., in which a woman is represented arranging branches in two vases of this shape, is accurate. The purple flowers, which have been suggested (*J.H.S.* 1903, p. 150), do not exist in the original, though some scratches on the black glaze at first sight lead to this conclusion. This is important, as the presence of purple flowers would be against the theory that myrtle branches were put into the vase to impart a pleasant aroma to the bridal bath; the stalks of flowers would certainly not have that effect. For the pyxis cf. H. L. Lorimer, (*J.H.S.* 1903, p. 133; for the lebes gamikos cf. Schreiber, *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1876, p. 333. The following are vases in other museums on which this shape is depicted:—pyxis in British Museum, E 774, cf. Dumont and Chaplain i., Pl. IX.; pyxis from Eretria in Berlin Museum, cf. *Jahrbuch* 1900, p. 144.

[2] Cf. Pottier, *Les Lecythes Blancs.*

[3] There are in all thirty-two from Attica, one from Tanagra, eleven from Eretria and sixteen of unknown provenance.

height. Such miniature vases are of rare occurrence in Italy, and seem to have been in demand only at home. There are three suggestions which have been made to explain their use:—that they were

(*a*) Prizes awarded to boys in the palaestra, cf. Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, xvii. 3–7.

(*b*) Connected with the festival of the Οἰνιστήρια, where some libations were confided especially to children.

(*c*) Children's toys, cf. *Arch. Zeit.*, 1879, p. 78, Robert, *Kinderspiele.*

It is difficult to fix on any of these interpretations as the right one. All we know for certain is that, one way or another, they were intimately connected with the life of children. This is certain from the scenes depicted on the vases, from their size, and from the fact that they were found in children's graves. Each one of these interpretations seems to be supported by independent evidence.

The supposition that they were prizes awarded to boys in the palaestra gains credence in view of certain scenes which occur on some vases. Besides those given by Stackelberg, there is a small oinochoë in the Athens Museum (No. 13031) on which is depicted the presentation of a branch and an oinochoë to a child sitting on a mule. This may be the reward offered to the victor in a mule-race. Again, No. 1283 may have reference to the Οἰνιστήρια, since on it is represented Dionysos, drunk, followed by a child holding a stick and an oinochoë; while on No. 12144 is depicted a kind of Bacchic revel of three children. However, it seems equally certain that some games were played with these vases; on No. 1328 a child has apparently thrown a stick on a vase of this shape, and, again, on No. 1329 a child is using it as an aim for its ball. On Nos. 1325, 1338, 1332 we find a child with a little cart and an oinochoë, both, evidently, favourite playthings. On a great many others children are represented at play, and in most cases a small oinochoë is brought into the scene. The most natural conclusion is that, whatever its purpose, the miniature oinochoë was an indispensable addition to a Greek nursery, and is the equivalent of our child's mug, given both as a present and as a prize.

(V.) *Onos.*—The onoi as well as the pinakes are so essentially products of the ceramic trade of Athens that, though, strictly speaking, they do not come under the heading of 'Attic vases,' I think it better to include them in this classification. For a long time the accepted theory was that the

objects now called '*ὄνοι*' were roof-tiles, but on No. 1589 is a scene which reveals their true purpose.[1] A girl is represented seated with such an object fitting over her knee-cap and thigh, by her side is a basket of wool; she is spinning, and passes the thread over the implement on her knee.

(VI.) *Aryballos.*—In the black-figured technique the form has not yet become fixed. The aryballos proper is not represented in the Museum at all, but we get the different types of the variety called alabastron. In the red-figured technique the aryballos proper is to be distinguished from the lekythos with the body like an aryballos. Of the two the latter seems the more frequent; in this classification it has been treated with the lekythos.

(VII.) *Pyxis.*—The pyxis shape is much more frequent in the red-figured than in the black-figured technique; the shapes, too, vary in the two periods. The commonest forms in the earlier are, a casket resting on three supports, and a round, fairly deep box either resting on one high foot or on its own bottom. A similar shape, but dispensing with the foot, is also used in the red-figured period, and this is sometimes placed on low supports. Very frequent are also a flat, round box, a vase-like shape with two upright handles, and the form called "lekane," with two vertical handles.

(VIII.) *Black- and Red-figured Lekythos.*—Most of the different varieties of black- and red-figured lekythoi are comprised in this collection. In the black-figured technique we have the type with bulging body, convex, low foot, and convex mouth; the type which is flat at the top, with slimmer body, similar mouth but higher foot; and, lastly, the still slimmer type with elongated mouth, projecting lip, flat shoulder, and, occasionally, double foot.

In the red-figured technique, of the examples found in Attica, there are forty lekythoi with a body like an aryballos, as against forty-four of the ordinary shape.

Besides the supply of vases included in my classification, which ought to give a rough estimate of the chief types in ordinary use in Attica, there are two collections which form a class by themselves. These are the vases from:—

(*a*) The Pre-Persian stratum on the Acropolis, which have helped to throw back the date of the introduction of the technique.

[1] Cf. M. Robert. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892, p. 247.

(*b*) The Telesterion at Eleusis.

These are particularly interesting, since they throw some light on the question of temple dedications, and show us what shapes were chiefly used for that purpose. That such was their intention is clear, not only from the fact that they were found in a sacred precinct, but also from inscriptions giving the name of the dedicator and of the deity.

(*a*) The Acropolis finds are mostly in a very fragmentary state. A few have been pieced together, but by far the greater number are too hopelessly mutilated for such reconstruction; it is, therefore, difficult to form an estimate of the exact proportion in which the different shapes occur. They all belong to the black-figured, and to the first and second periods of the red-figured technique. The workmanship is, as a rule, careful and superior to that of other finds in Greece proper.

The commonest shapes, arranged somewhat in the proportion in which they occur, are:—

A.—Black-figured:

Kylikes, pinakes, Panathenaic amphorae, pyxides, skyphoi, lekythoi, lebetes gamikoi, amphorae à colonette, plates, hydriae and lebetes.

Kylikes, pinakes and Panathenaic amphorae are by far the most frequent.

B.—Red-figured:

Kylikes, pyxides, amphorae, krateres, skyphoi, lebetes.

I counted, roughly speaking, about forty heads of Athena, belonging to Panathenaic amphorae. Of Panathenaic inscriptions I counted twenty-four with O and E and four with Ω and H.

There are several stands which must belong to lebetes gamikoi. These are all black-figured, thus forming a contrast with the other vases of this shape in the Museum, which, as we have seen, are all red-figured.

(*b*) The Eleusis finds are not nearly so numerous. They, too, consist mostly of fragments. The shapes represented in *A—the Black-figured technique*—are:—

Panathenaic amphorae, skyphoi, kylikes, lekythoi, amphorae, plates, pinakes, oinochoae, loutrophoroi (with three handles and Oriental motives).

B.—Red-figured:

Kylikes, amphorae à colonette, pinakes. The Panathenaic sherds are again in great preponderance, and kylikes also very frequent.

The supply of Panathenaic amphorae from the rest of Greece is

distinctly meagre, compared with the number found, for instance, in Italy. This may at first surprise us, since we know that they served as prizes in the Panathenaic games, but when we consider that athletes came from all parts of the world to compete in these games and that the victors would carry home their prizes, it is easy to understand why many have been found on foreign soil. The frequent occurrence of Panathenaic amphorae as votive offerings is not difficult to explain; it seems natural for the victor to dedicate his prize to the goddess to whose aid he owes his triumph, and whose very image appears on the vase itself.

Pinakes or votive tablets are used for dedicatory purposes as much in our own times as they were in the past.

Why the kylix should have been such a favourite with donors is not so obvious. However, we know from the scenes on kylikes that this shape was much in vogue with the upper classes in Athens. It was the commonest shape for the drinking-cup at a banquet, and was also used for the famous game of Kottabos. It is on the kylix that the καλός inscriptions most frequently occur, which fact alone shows it to have been a general favourite with young men. Especially at the beginning of the red-figured period much attention was devoted to the decoration of this form; the difficulty of appropriately filling the curved surface seems to have attracted, rather than discouraged, the ambition of the best artists, and thus we often find their finest work on kylikes, and the frequent occurrence of signatures shows the pride their makers took in these cups; it is no wonder, then, that dedicators, in their desire to honour the goddess to the best of their ability, chose the shape which had the highest value.

It is a fact which must strike the most casual observer that, speaking generally, the exported ware, now stored in foreign museums, is of higher excellence than the vessels which remained in Attica itself. The majority of the vases in the Athens Museum are of careless, swift execution, and, in this respect, compare unfavourably with the Etrurian finds, on which the Attic potter seems to have lavished all his skill and loving care. It may seem to us curious that the Greeks, who were known for their inborn good taste, should have been satisfied with inferior goods, while they sent their best work to a people who could hardly appreciate with the same fulness the exquisite beauty and finish of the articles they imported in such quantities. But then, as now, business instincts prevailed; potters supplied their best goods to the customer who paid the highest price, and it cannot

have been very difficult for wealthy Etruria to command the market; moreover, we know that the Athenians of the sixth and fifth centuries were very simple in their private life, and spent their substance rather on public works. If we remember the extreme modesty of private houses in comparison with the splendour of Greek temples, it will not surprise us to find that the vessels for daily use are in keeping with their surroundings. It is consistent with this spirit that the dedications to Athena found in the Pre-Persian stratum on the Acropolis should stand out as superior in quality, and we cannot but welcome another proof of that simple devotion with which the Athenians grudged luxury for themselves, but gave to the goddess of their very best.

G. M. A. RICHTER.

APPENDIX I.

LOUTROPHOROS[1] (Museum No. 13032). Red-figured; late style; regular type with two vertical handles; height 82 cm.; greatest diameter 23 cm. (Fig. 1).

The vase is in a bad state of preservation, it has been pieced together from many fragments and many parts of it are missing; however, there is enough left to make out roughly the scenes represented. The scheme of decoration on the neck is the one usually found on red-figured loutrophoroi (vid. Nos. 1226 and 1225): each side is occupied by a standing female figure (on one side there are only a few lines of the drapery left, but we can assume, on the analogy of other vases, that such a figure was depicted on each side). The central group on the body of the vase is the one which, fortunately, has been best preserved (Figs. 2, 3).

It consists of three armed warriors and a fallen figure; this, to judge from the softer curves of the body, must be female. The male warriors are nude, but armed with a plumed helmet, a large, round shield, and a lance or sword. The female figure wears a kind of baldric, covered with zig-zag lines, which reaches to above her knees; round her waist is fastened a girdle. She has succumbed and thrown aside her crescent shield, but she appears to be supported by the warrior behind her, who is standing over her and holding his shield as if to protect her from further harm. The dress and equipment of the female figure suggest an Amazon. We are immediately reminded of a myth recounted in the Aethiopis. Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, appears at Troy to aid King Priam. Achilles is determined to put an end to the dreaded adversary. He encouuters her in battle and succeeds in plunging his sword into her breast; but just at this moment their eyes meet and the hatred of Achilles turns into deep love. It is too late to save her—the fatal blow has already been dealt and he has been the instrument himself; all he can do is to protect her from further indignities; but the other Greeks

[1] This vase was found two years ago at the foot of the Philopappus. This information I owe to M. Stais, who has also kindly allowed me to publish it.

look askance at his protection of a national foe, and the bold Thersites succeeds in approaching with his long lance and putting out the eyes of Penthesilea.

Little is preserved of the other figures appertaining to this scene. A plume of a helmet and a foot must belong to a fourth warrior.

Occupying, apparently, almost the whole field of the reverse is a helmeted figure, her out-stretched right arm holding a sword. Her helmet is of a different shape from

FIG. 1.—LOUTROPHOROS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS.

FIG. 2.—BODY OF THE LOUTROPHOROS.

those worn by the warriors; it has no plume and is left in the red colour of the clay. She is wearing the soft Ionic chiton, and her left hand seems to be holding up a corner of its ample folds. The drapery indicates that the figure is female, but the difference in costume between this figure and Penthesilea excludes the possibility that here is depicted the arrival of the Amazon queen, or indeed that she belongs to

the Amazon race at all. Her commanding attitude suggests that we are in the presence of a deity, and her warlike character well beseems the goddess Athena. Athena is of frequent occurrence on vases of all periods, and, in a combat in which Greeks repulsed the foes who came to assist King Priam, her appearance would be particularly appropriate.

A black zig-zag line runs round the rim of the vase and down the narrow sides

FIG. 3.—DRAWING SHOWING DESIGN ON THE BODY OF THE LOUTROPHOROS.

of the two handles. If these are to be interpreted as the snake-lines, they are, besides the shape itself, the only reminiscence of the funereal character of the loutrophoros.

Below the design on the neck is a raised band with parallel zig-zag lines orming rhomboids, and below this band is a palmette pattern. Above the scene on the body are two continuous bands of egg and tongue pattern, separated by a red line; below is a laurel wreath ; rays and a tongue pattern rise from the foot of the vase

All other known loutrophoroi are decorated with subjects which are in accordance with the two objects for which the vase was employed—to fetch the water for the bridal bath, and to serve as a monument on the tomb of those who died unmarried. In the black-figured technique it is always a funereal subject, in the red-figured style it is more often a marriage ceremony. The scene on our loutrophoros cannot be interpreted as representing either of these alternatives. If it were purely and simply a contest between Greeks and Amazons, we might, on the analogy of the Dexileos stele, interpret the chief warrior as the deceased, portrayed in the crowning event of his life; the fight against the Amazons would then be symbolical, representing the triumph over a barbarian foe.

But Penthesilea, wounded, and Achilles repenting over his deed, is much too specialised a scene to be able to serve as typical. The idea seems to have appealed to the mind of the Greek artists, and we have frequent representations of the subject on vases, gems and marble sarcophagi.

In these we can trace a certain development; in black-figured vases, the incident chosen for representation is that of the actual deed, when Achilles has plunged his sword into Penthesilea's breast. This is in conformity with the artistic limitations of the period, when a moment of comparative rest is the most congenial (cf. *e.g.* black-figured amphorae in the British Museum, B. 209 and 210).

In the succeeding period, the time just before the fatal encounter is selected; Achilles, aware of Penthesilea, is rushing to meet her, sword in hand (cf. E 280 in British Museum). Here the great stress is laid on motion.

Our scene belongs to a later phase, when the moment after the deed is regarded as the climax of the story. Achilles, repentant, tries to ward off from his adversary the blows of his fellow-countrymen. It is the pathos of the situation that appealed to the artist, and the whole stress is laid on the conflict of feelings that reigned in the breast of Achilles. The only parallel for this treatment of the subject is the scene on an Etruscan bronze cista (Br. Mus. No. 746, reproduced in Murray's *Handbook of Archaeology*, p. 134). Achilles stands in the centre, swinging his sword in his right hand, Penthesilea lies at his feet, and from the right Thersites approaches with a spear. This cista is of the third century B.C., when the Etruscans had ceased to exist as a nation, and had opened their doors to the invasion of late Greek art, which was spreading over Italy; illustrations of Homer and the Epic cycle were especially in demand, and this cista is a typical example of that age. The scene on the cista and that on our loutrophoros are sufficiently alike to justify the supposition that both go back to a common original.

The only explanation we can give of this subject occurring on a loutrophoros is that, apparently, in the late period, the representation intended to suggest a funeral or marriage scene was of a subtler character, and the artist preferred a story of love and death to the actual portrayal of a funeral procession; or, perhaps, the loutrophoros form was appropriated for different uses than those for which the shape had been originally evolved, and thus the subject need no longer be a funeral or bridal scene. Until more such late loutrophoroi are found, the explanation must remain a matter of conjecture.

APPENDIX II.

FRAGMENT OF A PYXIS LID (diameter 0·34 m.). [Collignon and Couve Cat. No. 1970; Mus. No. 1190.] This fragment is interesting on account of the vase shapes depicted on it. (Fig. 4.)

In the centre is a woman seated, with a small Eros leaning against her; round her are placed a number of vases: two lebetes gamikoi (the shape of the one standing on her left is slimmer than usual, and there is no distinct separation between the body and the stand), two pyxides, and a lekane. To the right is a girl lifting with both hands another amphora of the lebes gamikos shape. Then follows a woman with her hands wrapped up in her himation, and, a little further, another figure, of which only the hair, parts of the face and the right arm are left. On the left of the central group is a woman lifting her hand in a gesture of astonishment, a woman carrying a wicker basket (?) with

FIG. 4.—FRAGMENT OF A PYXIS LID IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS.

a pattern consisting of rows of zigzags, dots, and straight lines, and again slight traces of a third figure. The flesh parts of the seated woman, the Eros and the figure furthest to the right are painted white.

It is interesting to compare this scene with that on a pyxis in the Berlin Museum. On it is represented a procession of maidens carrying vases, and this Deubner has interpreted as an illustration of the ἐπαύλια described by Eustathius, who enumerates a list of presents, chiefly in the form of vases, which, '*ἐν σχήματι πομπῆς*' are brought to the newly married. One of the maidens in this procession is carrying two vases of the lebes gamikos shape, from which we may conclude that such vases were also used as marriage gifts. It seems that while, on the Berlin pyxis, there is depicted an actual procession of maidens carrying these, we have on this fragment the bride in her new home, surrounded with the gifts that have been presented to her. When we remember the functions for which the lebes gamikos served, the idea of presenting such vases as wedding gifts appeals to us at once as appropriate.

G. M. A. R.

[1] Cf. Deubner, in *Jahrbuch* 1900, p. 144 ff.

TERRACOTTA PLAQUES FROM PRAESOS, EAST CRETE.

WITH the larger terracottas excavated by the British School of Athens at Praesos in 1900 I have already dealt elsewhere (*B.S.A.* viii. pp. 271 ff.). My purpose here is to treat of the interesting series of plaques discovered during the same excavations, of which I was then only able to give but a summary account. Their interest lies not so much in their artistic merit as in the light they throw on the customs and beliefs of the Eteocretan people during a long period extending from the archaic to the Hellenistic age.

The sites from which they come are two in number, the fountain at Vavelloi (see map in *B.S.A.* viii. Pl. VII.), and the trial pit on the fourth terrace below and to the west of the so-called 'Acropolis I.' The former site had been excavated before the Cretan Revolution, by Prof. Halbherr, who discovered and published (*A.J.A.* v. (1901) pp. 371–392 and Plates X.–XII.) seventeen varieties, specimens of all of which except three were again found in 1901, when the total number of different types unearthed was rather over thirty. The site was also dug over by the peasants during the Revolution, and a number of the specimens found were purchased and sent to the Candia Museum by the Bishop of Hierapetra. The immense richness of the site may be inferred from the fact that several hundred specimens are now included in the collection at Candia, while many more must have been scattered during the Revolution, and many, again, destroyed by the plough.

The fabric of which they are made is the light-red clay of the district. The plaque or *πίναξ* shape is one which is found sporadically in other districts, but never elsewhere as the universal form of practically all the

terracottas on a single site. It is found, for example, as an exceptional form at Goulas and Cavousi. The convenience of the plaque lies in the fact that it can easily be hung up either in a shrine or as an *εἰκών* in a private dwelling; some specimens from Praesos have a suspension hole for this purpose. The size of the plaques varies from ·05 to ·2 m. in height. They are all made in moulds and show no traces of paint. The broken state of most of the specimens points to the fact that on both sites they formed part of a deposit of offerings cleared out from shrines. Since they were of no commercial value it was the custom to break up and bury the accumulation of dedications when they became too numerous, to prevent their use for a second time. That this was frequently done can be seen from many other sites, and the custom is referred to in an inscription (*C.I.G.* i. 1570). The blunt contours of many of the figures show that the moulds were in use over a very long period.

In giving an account of the series the best arrangement seems to be that of chronological order as far as this is possible. For convenience the types may be roughly divided into three periods—an Archaic period, a Middle period roughly corresponding with the best period of Greek Art, and a Hellenistic period.

THE FIRST PERIOD.—ARCHAIC TERRACOTTAS.

Three most primitive terracottas of the series are of the nude 'Oriental goddess' type, which is common in E. Crete, exactly similar representations having been found both on plaques and in the round on most of the neighbouring sites and in Cyprus. An example procured by Prof. Halbherr has three characters Δ o ϕ incised on the back (*A.J.A.* v. Pl. X. No. 4b), and is dated by him as early as the seventh century B.C.

The examples of this type from Praesos are from at least three different moulds, all presenting the same general characteristics.

(1) The smallest and apparently most primitive type is made in two moulds (*A.J.A. l.c.* Pl. X. No. 4a). The forms of the body are exceedingly meagre and the waist thin: a tall head-dress is worn from which the hair falls in heavy masses over the shoulders. The height of the plaque is ·13 m.

(2) A second variant, which, though common, exists only in fragments, is larger and better modelled (*A.J.A. l.c.* Pl. X. No. 1).

(3) A third type is slightly larger still and more carefully moulded, and more attempt is made to render the features (*A.J.A. l.c.* Pl. X. No. 2).

The style of these three types is feeble, and in most cases, owing to the worn state of the moulds, the figures have lost all expression.

Four somewhat similar figures, of which only one, or at most two, specimens have occurred, come under the same general class.

(4) The first represents a headless fragment of a draped female holding her breasts with both hands (Fig. 1 (*a*)): it may be compared with that figured by Halbherr (*A.J.A.* v. Pl. X. No. 5). For the motive, compare *B. M.*

FIG. 1 (*a*).—DRAPED FEMALE FIGURE.

FIG. 1 (*b*).—DO. WITH HIGH HEAD-DRESS.

Cat. of Terracottas, A 91 (from Larnaka, Cyprus), Heuzey, *Terres-cuites du Louvre*, Pl. IX. Fig. 4, and Winter, *Die Antiken Terrakotten*, iii. p. 14, Fig. 6, and p. 19, Figs. 5 and 6.

(5) Another figure of cylindrical form (Fig. 1 (*b*)) shows a woman with a high head-dress and long hair. The left arm is bent at a right angle and laid across the waist; an excrescence above it may perhaps be some attribute which she held. The right arm is extended downwards so that the hand may cover the middle of the body. The *xoanon*-like treatment of the lower part of the body is noticeable.

(6) Two fragments, one headless and the other representing the lower

part of the body, give another type of female figure (Fig. 2). Like some of the early sixth-century *xoanon*-like sculptures, it is draped, and shows the forms of the body indistinctly through the flat surface of the drapery. The left hand rests on the left thigh and does not screen the middle of the body, though this no doubt was the original motive (cp. *A.J.A.* v. Pl. X. No. 6, not from Praesos).

(7) Another fragment of a male figure seems to have formed part of a group of two (Fig. 3). His companion was on the right and held one arm round the neck of our figure; the hand is preserved on the left shoulder.

FIG. 2.—ANOTHER TYPE.

FIG. 3.—MALE FIGURE FORMING PART OF A GROUP.

Probably the hand which rests on the right side of the body of our figure also belongs to his companion, and his right hand passed round the neck of the lost figure. For the position we may compare the well-known group in marble from Tanagra.

It is an unusually complicated motive and must have necessitated the use of at least two moulds. The right shoulder and the hand are in different planes. The hand shows a bracelet, or perhaps the end of a sleeve, on the wrist where it is broken off.

The figure is in a bolder style than the common plaques, and has a freshness and charm which the other early types have lost through

mechanical repetition. The head-dress in particular is carefully worked out; it consists of two rows of locks treated as spirals, five in the upper and six in the lower row. The group might possibly represent the Dioscuri.

In all the figures of which we have treated hitherto may be noticed an Egyptianising tendency, particularly in the treatment of the hair. The influence of Egyptian clay figurines, which are common in the Delta, is remarkable; these Egyptian figurines can be dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.

Figures very similar to those from Praesos have been found in Crete at Krousonas (Mariani, *Mon. Ant.* vi. p. 38, Fig. 22), and at μετόχι of Stamataki near Heraklion (Mariani, *l.c.* p. 39, Fig. 25). The well-known figures from Eleutherna and Tegea (*Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1891, p. 599; *Rev. Arch.* xxi. p. 10 and Plates III. and IV.) show similar characteristics in the round.

(8) Another primitive type, ·12 m. in height, of which a large number of specimens have been found, represents a small draped male figure advancing to the left (*A.J.A. l.c.* Pl. XII. Nos. 1 and 2). The hair is brushed back and tied behind; the eyes are not in profile; the nose and chin are long and pointed, and the forehead recedes. The waist is thin and the feet are planted flat on the ground. The figure wears close-fitting drapery reaching below the knees and a *chlamys* over the shoulders and left arm. The right hand is raised, the left is held at right angles close to the body; both thumbs point upwards. There is no indication either in the general type or from the presence of attributes which suggests that a god is represented; it may portray a worshipper, or perhaps a priest engaged in an act of ritual. Two plaques from the same mould were obtained by Mr. D. G. Hogarth near Epano Zakro (*B.S.A.* vii. p. 148).

FIG. 4.—FEMALE FIGURE WITH DRUM.

(9) Another common type (Fig. 4, cp. *A.J.A.* v. p. 391, Fig. 21), which is difficult to explain, represents a female figure in a flowing robe, grasping in both hands a cord by which is suspended round her neck a circular drum or *tympanum*, decorated with two concentric circles enclosing a series

of small studs or bosses. It is ·22 m. in height. For the motive of the *tympanum* we may perhaps compare *B.M. Cat. of Terracottas*, B 380, 381, 383, from Sardinia; Winter, *l.c.* p. 17, Fig. 6. The figure has probably some reference to a local cult, perhaps that of the Mother of the gods. Rhea must have been worshipped by the Eteocretans, since the Dictaean Zeus had the cultus-title of Κούρος, and she is expressly named in the Hymn discovered at Palaikastro.

Two of the largest of all the plaques from Praesos represent warriors; specimens of both are very numerous.

(10) The more primitive, which measures ·26 m. in height, represents a warrior advancing to the left, holding in his right hand a spear, in his left a shield with a central *umbo* covering the body as far as the waist (*A.J.A.* v. p. 390, Fig. 19). He wears a helmet with a long crest. The features of the face are archaic; the eyes, which are set unnaturally low in the face, are not in profile, and the end of the mouth slopes upwards. The neck, waist, and legs, particularly at the knees, which by the common archaic convention are bent to represent motion, are thin and meagre. The whole effect is feeble and ugly. Though the figure is moving to the left, the body from the waist to the shoulders faces to the front—a scheme not uncommon in early art, and found, for instance, in the Europa metope from Selinus. The plaque is made in three moulds—the first extends downwards as far as the centre of the shield, where it forms a *chevron*-like line, the second from that point to the knees, and the third from the knees downwards.

FIG. 5.—MALE FIGURE WEARING A BELT.

(11) The second type (*A.J.A.* v. Pl. XII. No. 3) measures ·27 m. in height and is in the same position and bears similar weapons, except that the shield is decorated with a ram's head. The flowing crest seems to imitate horsehair. The work is less deeply cut and the style even feebler than the earlier figure.

In both these types the slender form of the waist and the girdle which contracts it recall the male figures from Knossos and elsewhere (*e.g. B.S.A.* vii. Figs. 13 and 31).

(12) Mention may here be made also of another male figure of which

four fragments have been found representing only the upper part of the body (Fig. 5). The hair stands out on either side of the head and is carefully arranged in locks over the forehead. The left hand is pressed against the waist, which is here again contracted by a close-fitting belt.

THE MIDDLE PERIOD.

In this period the most common type consists of various forms of seated female figures, such as are common on almost every site where terracottas have been found in Greek lands.

FIG. 6.

FIG. 7.

FIG. 8.

FIGS. 6, 7, 8.—SEATED FEMALE FIGURES.

(13) One of these, ·17 m. in height, represents a figure clad in a single garment showing the forms of the body, which are heavy and carelessly rendered. The hair is rolled back over the forehead, and separate coils fall over the shoulders and breast. The hands rest on the knees, and between them is a round object, possibly an attribute. The chair has a curved back with sides bending inwards, and under the feet is a footstool. Like the

seated figures from Branchidae, the figure seems to be one with the throne on which it is seated.

A similar, but headless, fragment shows the knees and legs of a seated figure with the over- and under-garments carefully rendered. Another headless fragment measures ·14 m. Another and smaller fragment shows the feet of a seated figure, clumsy in shape, but with the details carefully rendered. Another version is figured by Halbherr (*A.J.A.* v. p. 388, Fig. 17).

For the type represented by all these variants, cp. Mariani, *Mon. Ant.* vi. p. 41, Fig. 27; *B.M. Cat.* Plates IX. and XI., from Sicily and Rhodes; Winter, *l.c. passim*; the nearest parallels being from Sicily, Sardinia, and S. Italy, pp. 120–129; these have the same characteristic head-dress. These seated figurines are generally supposed to represent Chthonian deities.

(14) Another common seated type represents a female figure, ·13 m. in height, seated between the columns of a small temple or chapel (Fig. 6). It faces the front and is clad in close-fitting drapery with a veil over the head. The temple consists of two columns of square construction with a triglyph above. The right hand is wrapped in drapery and apparently raised to the face, the left hand is laid on the lap and supports the right elbow.

FIG. 9.—STANDING FEMALE FIGURE.

(15) In a fragment of a slightly varying type the left hand holds the drapery on the lap, and probably also supports the right elbow (Fig. 7). It differs from the last type mainly in the absence of the columns.

(16) In another variant the columns are present, but the position of the hands is different (Fig. 8); the left hand is raised to the face, and the right hand is also lifted and perhaps held an attribute.

Three other female types seem also to belong to this period; they appear to represent mortals rather than deities, and their dedication may well signify the personal devotion of the dedicators.

(17) Of the largest of these, which measures ·17 m., there is a perfect specimen in the Bishop of Hierapetra's collection (Fig. 9). It faces to the front; the right hand is laid upon the breast, the left hangs at the side. Some attention has been paid to the forms of the body, and the under- and

over-garments are carefully indicated. The hair is gathered in a mass over the centre of the forehead. There is no modelling at the back, which is a mere screen of clay pierced with a square hole.

(18) Another slightly smaller type, ·15 m. in height, represents a female figure in a similar position. The left foot is slightly advanced. The rendering of the drapery is inadequate, and the whole figure very rough and sketchy.

FIG. 10.

FIG. 11.

FIG. 12.

FIG. 13.

FRAGMENTS, OF ARCHAISTIC STYLE.

(19) Another type, ·13 m. in height, shows a female figure carrying a water-pot on her head. The close-fitting drapery shows the forms of the body in rough outline. The right hand supports the vessel, the left hangs at the side. The right foot is advanced, the left slightly withdrawn. A similar figure from an unknown source—probably from Praesos—is figured by Mariani, *l.c.* p. 43, Fig. 33b. The *hydrophoros* type is exceedingly common (cp. *B.M. Cat. passim* and Winter, *l.c.* pp. 156–159).

(20) An isolated fragment may be mentioned here, representing the headless torso of an Athena moving to the left and carrying a shield decorated with a *gorgoneion* on her left arm. Some locks of hair are visible on the neck. The workmanship is rough.

Four fragments all archaistic in style may be classed together.

(21) One represents a female head with long braided tresses, wearing a crested Corinthian helmet (Fig. 10). The upper part of the shield is preserved. Athena is undoubtedly the subject of this plaque.

(22) Another fragment (Fig. 11) represents the lower half of a female figure, turning to the left, clad in drapery which shows the outline of the limbs. The right foot is flat on the ground, the left is raised. The fragment is interesting as showing a characteristic scheme of archaistic sculpture on a small scale.

(23) A third fragment shows the upper half of a female figure turned to the right (Fig. 12). Her hair is arranged in curls beneath a head-dress, and flows in long locks over her neck. Her right hand is raised, her left is bent at a right angle and holds an apple.

(24) The fourth fragment represents the upper part of the figure of an *ephebus*, clad in a *petasus* and a *chlamys* fastened with a large brooch at the neck (Fig. 13). He advances towards the right; the left arm is held out behind him, the right arm is raised. Considerable care has been bestowed on the rendering of the muscles.

All these four fragments are markedly archaistic. If not imported, which is possible from the fact that they are all isolated specimens, they at least show foreign influence. Somewhat of the same character are the reliefs from Locri (e.g. *B.M. Cat.* B 484).

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD.

In the third and latest period the most common type represents a nude standing boy; it exists in several varieties.

(25) The most common of these types, fourteen specimens of which were discovered in 1900, measures ·13 m. (*A.J.A.* v. p. 392, Fig. 24). The figure faces to the front; the left hand is placed on the hip, the right hangs at the side, the right leg is slightly advanced. The proportions and modelling are good.

(26) Fragments were discovered of a very similar figure on a slightly larger scale.

(27) Of a similar plaque on a still larger scale, measuring about ·17 m., no complete specimen has come to light, but numerous fragments enable it to be restored. The left hand hangs at the side, the right is placed on the hips, the left leg is slightly withdrawn, and the weight of the body is being transferred to the right leg—a position which recalls the favourite scheme of Polykleitos.

FIG. 14.—VEILED FEMALE FIGURE.

FIG. 15.—DRAPED FIGURE (RESTORED).

FIG. 16.—APHRODITE AND EROS. FRAGMENT (RESTORED).

These three types undoubtedly belong to the class of *ephebe*-dedications, very commonly found on Greek sites (cp. Winter, *l.c.* pp. 182–188).

(28) Two fragments show the graceful figure of a woman lifting her veil with her right hand (Fig. 14). Great attention has here been paid to the folds of the garment, which shows the forms of the body. The proportions of the arms are exceedingly meagre, but the whole figure is not displeasing.

Of two larger plaques fragments have been published by Mariani (*l.c.*,

p. 188); newly discovered fragments complete the figures in both cases.

(29) The first represents a standing female figure, ·25 m. in height (Fig. 15). The right arm is extended below the breast, and the hand holds

FIG. 17.—DANCING GIRL.

the folds of draperies which fall over the left shoulder; the left arm, which is half hidden in the drapery, is bent at the elbow.

(30) The other represents Aphrodite and Eros, and measures ·19 m. in height. An outline sketch is given here, made up from various fragments to illustrate the general scheme of the group (Fig. 16). The goddess has

the upper part of the body bare, the lower half being covered with heavy folds of drapery. The right hand hangs down, the left holds the drapery at the hip. The right leg is crossed over the left, the left foot being curiously foreshortened. To the right is a nude Eros, winged and kneeling, facing towards the right. The exact motive of the figure is uncertain. The workmanship of the group is coarse and clumsy.

Both these plaques show the influence of the terracotta work of the Hellenistic age in Greece proper, of which the discoveries at Tanagra are typical. The draped female figure is clearly the *κόρη* of Tanagra imitated in a plaque by a Praesian artist, while the Aphrodite group can be paralleled exactly in a terracotta in the National Museum at Athens.

(31) Another very common type represents a dancing girl; it is found in two sizes, the larger being ·23 m. in height (Fig. 17, cp. *A.J.A.* v. Pl. XII. No. 5), the other slightly smaller. She dances towards the right, the weight of the body resting on the right leg. The left hand is held with the palm upwards, the right arm is held on a level with the waist. The figure wears a high *polos* and a short, sleeveless *chiton*, which is shaken into graceful folds by her swift movement. The background on her left is filled by a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed. This plaque is the best composed and most carefully finished of the whole series. The filling in of the background recalls the reliefs of the Hellenistic age, to which this plaque undoubtedly belongs. (For the type of 'Laconian' dancing girl with *kalathiskos*, see Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 202.)

There still remains to be mentioned a group of four plaques, of a type rather different from the rest, and so closely alike that they form a class by themselves. They are all more or less square in shape, and for the most part have holes for suspension. Three of the four represent animals; the relief is in all cases very flat.

(32) The first represents a sphinx advancing to the left (Fig. 18). The details of the hair, wings, and tail are carefully worked out in a decorative and conventional fashion. There are numerous similar figures in the Candia Museum, from Goulas, they are from a different mould, but serve to illustrate the popularity of the type.

(33) A second plaque, of which enough fragments exist to enable a restoration to be made, represents a griffin advancing to the right (Fig. 19).

It is in every respect a pendant to the sphinx; it shows the same conventional rendering of the wings, the same spiral in the hair and tail.

(34) A similar plaque from Praesos representing a lion is published by

FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

FIG. 20.
THREE SQUARE PLAQUES.

Mariani (*l.c.* p. 34, Fig. 10). There is no example of it in the Candia Museum; it is noted here for the sake of completeness.

(35) The last of the series represents Silenus dipping a vessel into a large *amphora* (Fig. 20). It is very fragmentary. A fragment figured by Halbherr (*A.J.A. l.c.* p. 390, Fig. 20 and note) seems to belong to the same type.

We may now turn to a general criticism of the series. In the Archaic period we find connections with Egypt and Cyprus, and also with Sardinia. In this period the types are hieratic, and probably had a close connection with the religious beliefs of the Eteocretan people. They seem to point to the widespread worship of a nature-goddess, probably akin to the Phoenician Astarte, and perhaps also to the cult of a local war-god, to whom, besides the warrior plaques, the bronze models of arms from the Altar Hill (*B.S.A.* viii. 258–259 and Pl. X.) were possibly offered. The large number of these archaic figurines shows that they persisted for a long period by the side of more modern productions, a supposition also borne out by the fact that some specimens—to use a metaphor from engraving—are in a much 'earlier state' than others, which are less sharp through the wearing of the moulds. The persistence of archaic types also implies the survival of primitive cults among the Eteocretans.

The Middle period calls for little comment, except that here we find the types less hieratic, and less appropriate as offerings to deities, the human element predominating over the divine. They also betray a local art far less advanced than contemporary art on the Greek mainland.

The latest period shows the complete dominance of Greek Art over native style and craftsmanship, though the *πίναξ* form is still retained. The *κοινὴ διάλεκτος* of art in the Hellenistic Age has spread to Praesos as to other remote places, which then came within the all-embracing sphere of Hellenic influence.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr. R. C. Bosanquet not only for allowing me to publish his discoveries, but also for valuable help and advice. Mr. Bosanquet was good enough to spend much valuable time cleaning the terracottas discovered in 1900 and collating them with the specimens in the Bishop of Hierapetia's collection, and in superintending the drawings, which are from the pen of Mr. Frank Orr.

EDWARD S. FORSTER

EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO. IV.

(PLATES VIII.—XIV. §§ 1—6.)

§ 1.—THE SEASON'S WORK.

WORK began on March 29th, and continued, with the usual break for Easter, until June 17th, with an average of about sixty to seventy workmen. Mr. W. A. Kirkwood of the University of Toronto was present for the first few weeks, rendering valuable assistance, and later Mr. C. H. Hawes of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the course of a journey in Crete undertaken for anthropological work, came and superintended the excavation of a Middle Minoan ossuary and some larnax-burials at Sarandári, of which his report is given below (§ 7). At the end of the season Mr. Guy Dickins of New College, Oxford, came, and, besides other work, undertook the laborious task of packing the finds for transport to the Candia Museum and there unpacking them. Mr. Sejk came in May, and made full plans of the excavation and a general survey of the district. Owing to the Archaeological Congress at Athens the Director was unable to be present, and I conducted the excavation and was present throughout.

The main object of the season's work was to exhaust the possibilities of the site of the Hellenic temple, but as Block π, on the opposite side of the main street, had not been fully excavated, this was first finished, to provide a convenient dumping-ground. This region however proved both deeper and more important than was expected, and it was not until well on in April that it was finished and the field clear for the discovery of the important archaic Greek remains in terracotta and bronze from the temple and for the investigation of the underlying Minoan strata.

When the rains usual at the beginning of the season made work at Roussolakkos impossible, further trial-pits were made on the slopes of the Kastri, which resulted in the discovery of the Early Minoan ossuary described below (§ 3). Between this and the sea we found and traced the walls of an oblong (12 m. × 10 m.) Hellenic building, dated by a lamp of the same shape as those common amongst the remains of the temple. An amphora-handle stamped with a monogram was also found.

The main street was traced westwards (see Pl. IX. for Key plan), and proved to be continuous with the piece found last year at Kephaláki. The average breadth was as usual about two metres, with short lengths of raised side-path and gutter, though not much pavement. Just west of Block δ (square D 4) the walls are destroyed and the street makes a slight deviation to the north. Measuring from the point where the street-wall begins again, for the first twelve metres there is a strip of pavement on the left rising by two sets of steps to a threshold, and just beyond this what seems to be the corner of this house. Nearly opposite, a break in the wall marks the division between two houses. At twenty-two metres the street deviates a little to the left, and then on the same side is the entrance to another house. Three steps lead up from the street into a wider vestibule, the side walls of which are lined with plaster. After four metres there is a set-back in the left wall, and seven metres more bring us to the foot of a flight of five shallow steps (Pl. XIV*b*), by which the street rises to within less than half a metre of the surface. These steps are more than a metre apart, and do not quite reach the left wall, but leave room for a gutter. On the right a threshold opens on the second step. At the top of the flight there seems to be straight in front the entrance to a house, whilst the street itself turns to the left (square B 4) at an angle of about 135° and runs straight to the houses excavated at Kephaláki, a distance of fifty metres. This latter part was so shallow that the walls had suffered much when the owner cleared this field of stones, and it was not possible always to be certain of the limits of houses. The last few yards are in specially bad condition, but it seems possible that here another street joined it on the left, coming from the south side of Block δ.

Evidence that this region was deserted in the course of the Late Minoan III. period was given by the discovery in this street a few metres from Block δ of a shallow bronze bowl, ·30 m. in diameter and ·12 m. deep,

with an horizontal handle at the rim. It was upside-down in the middle of the street, as if dropped by a fugitive. Its period is indicated by the discovery of a similar object in the Late Minoan III. tombs at Phaistos (see Savignoni, *Mon. Ant.* 1905, Fig. 27, p. 47). It was so utterly corroded that it was impossible to do more than measure it as it was found.

The season was closed by covering in again the area excavated, with the exception of parts of the main street, and the more important parts of Blocks β, γ, and δ, which have been left open and walled round.

The excavation of a neolithic settlement at Magasá, some three hours' ride from Palaikastro, gave us for the first time an idea of the dwellings and culture of the inhabitants in the period preceding the Minoan age of bronze, and thus, besides increasing our knowledge of the Hellenic period, it has been the good fortune of this last campaign to go further back into the prehistoric part than had yet been possible.

§ 2.—NEOLITHIC SETTLEMENT AT MAGASÁ.

Of the various antiquities found from time to time in the district, which we have been accustomed from the beginning of the excavation to buy for the Candia Museum, by far the greater number have always been neolithic stone axes, some entire, some broken, but nearly all bearing marks of weathering due to exposure on the surface. Thus in 1902 six, in 1903 twenty-one, in 1904 twenty-eight were acquired in this way, and this year, when the habit of noticing them was well established, forty-three. From the first it was noticed that nearly all came from the high limestone plateau that rises south of Palaikastro and forms the centre of the eastern-most section of Crete. The glen of Haghios Nikolaos, which pierces the northern edge of this region, running up to the foot of the steep cone of Módhi, and the scanty fields of Karýdhi, Magasá, and Xerolímni, villages hidden in hollows and ravines that seam the high wind-swept waste of broken grey stone, yielded nine-tenths of the total number.[1] This evidence made the existence of neolithic settlements somewhere on these highlands a certainty, and when it was observed this year that considerable numbers came from two localities near Magasá, the clues became very clear.

[1] Of the whole ninety-eight, only nine examples came from the low country of Palaikastro itself.

The first spot visited is a row of small fields, 'the Sweet Meadows,' *τὰ γλυκειὰ λιβάδια*, at the bottom of a valley just before the road from Palaikastro reaches Magasá. Here however nothing was found to make digging seem worth while, but the other place indicated, 'the Hollow of the Olive tree,' *'σ τᾶς ἐλαιᾶς τὸ λάκκο*, was more promising. It consists of a number of small depressions in the surface of the limestone, in which enough soil has collected to be worth cultivating, lying about twenty minutes west of Magasá, on a declivity looking south towards Karýdhi over the valley and the road that connects the two villages. The small field pointed out as the one where the celts had been found proved to be strewn with chips of obsidian, and, though no pottery was to be seen, this was enough to confirm the witness of the celts to the existence of ancient remains below the surface.

The Rock-Shelter.

The excavation lasted three days, April 27th, and May 15th and 16th, and seventeen to twenty men were employed. The field in question slopes slightly up towards the north, and about 2·00 m. beyond its northern limit a solid ledge of limestone crops up a little above the surface for some 15 metres. The strip between this and the field was strewn with large boulders. A few trenches cut in various directions made it clear at once that only the part of the field within some eight metres of the face of ledge was worth digging. This region however proved rich in neolithic objects and was completely cleared, the bed-rock being reached at a depth of a little over a metre. Parallel to the ledge of rock and some 4·50 metres from it was a rough wall irregularly built of unhewn stones, which seemed to turn outwards at its western end. It was just inside this wall that the finds were thickest, and they continued under the big stones that cumbered the ground immediately in front of the rock ledge. West of the wall, as also outside it, the finds were much rarer. It seems plain that the place was a rock-shelter partly closed by the wall; the masses of rock that we found loose on the surface by the ledge of rock probably at that time formed the roof of a shallow cave, which afterwards fell in and buried the objects beneath the débris. How far out this natural roof extended could not be ascertained, but probably no further than the wall. Such rock-shelters, half built in by precisely such a wall, are often used in the district as

sheepfolds at the present day. Fig. 1 gives a sketch-plan and section, the latter shewing in dotted lines the probable original condition of the roof of the rock-shelter and the enclosing wall.

The earth amongst which the objects were found was very fine, soft and powdery, and intensely black. A very little charcoal was observed. The complete absence of metal, and the numerous celts prove that we

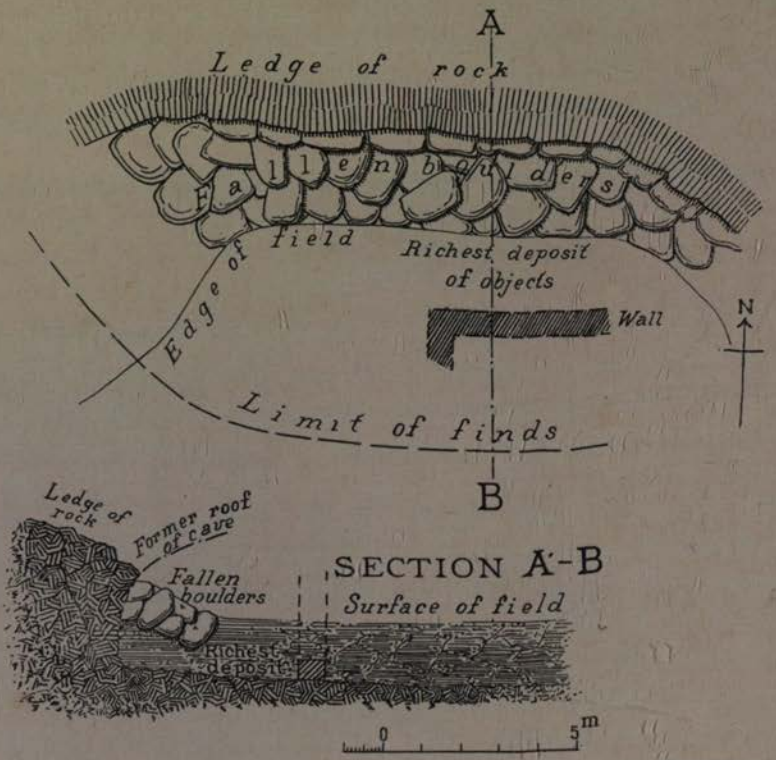


FIG. 1.—NEOLITHIC ROCK-SHELTER AT MAGASÁ: PLAN AND SECTION.

have to do with a habitation of the neolithic age. This is supported by the character of the potsherds, of which some nine or ten basketsfull were found. A millstone, a few shells, a piece of pumice, some chips of obsidian, two hundred and sixty bone awls, and a large number of animals' bones and teeth complete the list of finds. Before giving full details of these it will be convenient to describe the contemporary house found close by.

The Neolithic House.

Some ten or twelve yards west of the rock-shelter just described, remains of walls were noticed above the surface. The earth was so shallow that the ground was not cultivated, and only one course of stones remained, but the finds shewed that it was a house of the same period as the rock-shelter. As shewn in the plan (Fig. 2) it is an L-shaped building with a gap in the wall in the inside angle, which faces north-east. Here probably was the door, thus leading directly to the adjacent cave. All that is left of the walls is a single course of undressed limestone blocks, forming a

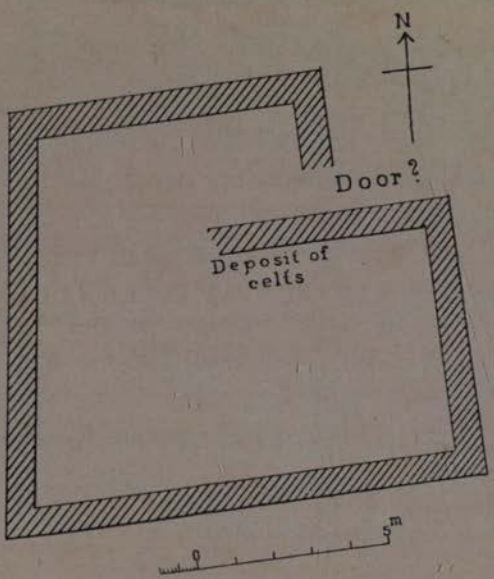


FIG. 2.—NEOLITHIC HOUSE AT MAGASÁ.

fairly rectangular ground-plan. It is striking to find a square-built house at this period, when it might have been supposed that nothing more advanced than wattled huts yet existed.

The finds were similar to those from the rock-shelter except that there were no bones, worked or unworked, and the pottery, though of the same kind, was very much less abundant. The celts were more numerous and in much better preservation. Nineteen were found, of which only five were badly broken, nearly all in the region marked in the plan (Fig. 2)

just inside the door, though not so close together as to warrant the idea that they had been kept in any receptacle. Three mill-stones, some obsidian chips, a pebble used for hammering, and three small stones marked with depressions formed by hammering or grinding, complete the list of finds.

The roof may have been flat with rafters. The span, six metres, is not too great for it to have been constructed, like those of modern cottages,

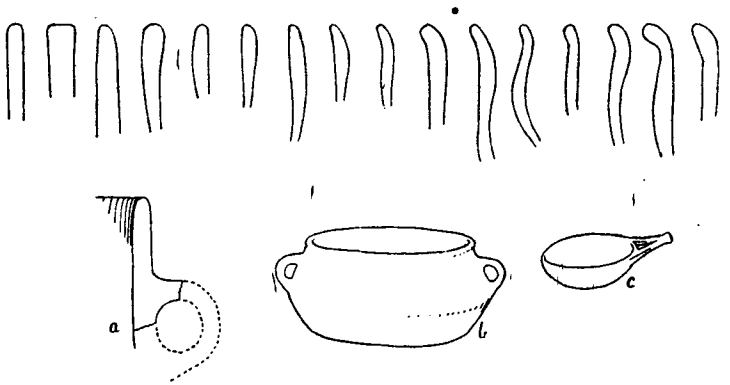


FIG. 3.—NEOLITHIC POTTERY FROM MAGASÁ. (1 : 2).

of the rough rafters hewn from the trunks of the wild olive trees which grow abundantly in the mountain glens. Water is at hand in a well and spring close by, and this may have been the reason of the settlement here, for water is scarce on the plateau, most of it being carried off by the underground channels called locally χῶνοι or λατσίδες.[1]

The Finds.

I. *The Pottery.*—See Plate VIII., Nos. 24–31, and Fig. 3.

This was all much broken, and no complete vessels were obtained. It is hand-made, of a smoky grey clay, with a grey or black surface, which is occasionally fairly well polished. The finely-burnished surface of some neolithic ware never occurred, nor is the ware well enough baked to take such a brilliant polish, being often extremely friable. It is due to this that no sherds were found on the surface; such pottery would disintegrate

[1] These are called *Katabothra* usually in modern Greek.

almost at once when exposed to the weather. Only four incised sherds were found (Pl. VIII., Nos. 24–26), two with dots and two with lines. Several pieces were bored with a conical (No. 24) drill and a few decorated with raised bosses. The bases of the vessels were merely flattened. The rims vary a good deal, and a series of the forms found is shewn in the top row of Fig. 3. The handles are of two kinds. One is the horizontal broad form shewn in Pl. VIII., No. 31, which often springs at a point where the wall of the vessel contracts and forms a distinct angle, and is always set some way below the rim. Fig. 3 *b* is an attempt to shew the sort of vessel to which these handles belonged. When there is no such angle in the vase-wall at the point where the lower end of the handle is inserted, the vessel must have been some kind of deep pot. The broken handle shewn in Fig. 3 *a*, as it is also larger than the handles that suggest the shallow bowl-shape, probably belonged to such a deep vessel. Not more than about a dozen well-preserved handles of this form were found, including one or two like Pl. VIII., No. 30, which are no more than suspension holes. The other variety has the form of the wishbone of a fowl; no complete example was found, but the best fragments are seen in Pl. VIII., Nos. 27–29. From several of these it is clear that this kind of handle was attached to a small shallow cup or ladle, for the form of which Fig. 3 *c* offers a suggestion.[1] No other shapes can be made out. The resemblance of the bowls of Fig. 3 *b* to the modern Greek τσουκάλι is marked, and suggests that like their modern counterpart, these also were used for cooking.

II. *Worked Bones.*—See Pl. VIII., Nos. 11–18.

All of these were found in the rock-shelter. With few exceptions, such as Pl. VIII., No. 11, these are awls, pins, or skewers, in length generally from ·06 to ·08 m. Of the two hundred and sixty found, very many were broken, and all brittle. They are in all cases made from bones of small animals, as the hollow of the bone always appears. In a minority of cases (Pl. VIII., Nos. 12, 13, 15, 17, 18) the joint or at least a part of the tube of the bone is left.

III. *Obsidian.*—See Pl. VIII., Nos. 19–23.

This occurred only in small chips. No rough lumps were found, nor

[1] They seem to have resembled the bowls from Cyprus with similar handles. See Myres and Richter, *Catalogue of Cyprus Museum*, Bronze Age pottery, p. 47, and Plate III. 301, 303. Other references in *B.S.A.* vi. p. 118.

is there any trace of knives or nuclei. The method of striking long straight flakes or 'knife-blades' off a core, universally found in the bronze age, was apparently unknown.

IV. *Shells.*

The rock-shelter yielded a few fragments of shells, mostly broken tritons. One specimen each occurred of *murex trunculus*, the limpet, and the oyster. A piece of pumice was found.

V. *Stone Axes.*—Pl. VIII., Nos. 1–10.

Thirty-six examples in all have been obtained from this site, of which nine are from the rock-shelter, nineteen from the house, whilst the remaining eight were bought. Of these, fourteen are a good deal broken, but only two so much as to make it impossible to classify them with certainty. Those in the rock-shelter were in much the worst condition, and only three out of the nine are not badly broken.

The classification here adopted is that of Blinkenberg, *Archaeologische Studien, Griechische Steingeräte*, pp. 18 ff., who distinguishes the following classes:—

1 A. *Heavy axes with pointed butts.*—The Magasá celts give us three varieties of this type:—(*a*) The implement is long in proportion and narrows slightly towards the cutting edge (Blinkenberg, Fig. 11). (*b*) It is short and has this narrowing, and thus acquires an oval shape. (*c*) It is short and without this narrowing, and thus is roughly triangular (Blinkenberg, Fig. 12).

1 B. *Heavy axes with blunt butts.*—Among these the very long type does not occur, and they do not decrease much in breadth towards the butt.

In all these types the polished surface is confined to the faces that form the cutting edge.

2. *Thin axes.*—Usually smaller than **1 A** and **1 B**, and always polished all over, with the sides flat, or not markedly convex. The butt end is either sharp, giving a triangular form, rounded, or rarely square.

3 and **4.** *Heavy and thin chisels*, corresponding to the two types of axes, and differing from them in the narrowness of the cutting edge. Small implements, polished all over.

All these varieties occasionally have the cutting edge on one side of

the central plane of the blade, making one face much more convex than the other. These are Blinkenberg's *Querbeile.*

The Magasá implements are as follows:—

(*a*) *From the House.*

No.	Shape.	Material.
1	**1 A***a*	Pl. VIII., No. 3, 3*a*.
2	**1 A***c*	A very black specimen.
3	**1 A***c*	Butt almost round.
4	**1 B**	Narrows towards the edge, giving an oval form approaching **1 A**, *b*.
5, 6	**1 B**	
7	**1 B**	Pl. VIII., No. 5, 5*a*.
8, 9	**1 B**	Edge broken away.
10	**1 B**	Has the oval form of No. 4, and by a rare exception, is polished all over.
11	**2**	Pl. VIII., No. 7, 7*a*. The faces that form the edge are worked dead flat. Triangular form. Haematite.
12	**2**	Pl. VIII., No. 9, 9*a*. Butt rounded, intermediate between No. 11 and No. 25. Haematite.
13	**2**	A rather large specimen, very square in shape.
14	**2**	Triangular, like No. 11.
15	**2**	Oval in shape, and seems a natural pebble sharpened.
16	**2**	Edge broken. Butt rounded, like No. 12.
17	**3**	Pl. VIII., No. 10, 10*a*. A rare type. The only specimen from this site.
18, 19	?	Too much broken to be classified certainly, except as **1 A** or **1 B**.

(*b*) *From the Rock-Shelter.*

20	**1 A** ?	Only the butt-end found.
21–24	**1 B**	Much broken specimens.
25	**2**	Pl. VIII., No. 8, 8*a*. Butt very square. Haematite.
26	**2**	Pl. VIII., No. 6, 6*a*. Unusually large for this form. Butt rounded. Breccia.
27	**2**	Very badly shaped.
28	**2**	Butt-end broken away.

(*c*) *Acquired by Purchase.*

29	**1 A***a*	Pl. VIII., No. 1, 1*a*.
30	**1 A***a*	Pl. VIII., No. 2, 2*a*.
31, 32	**1 A**	Two broken specimens.
33	**1 B**	
34	**1 B**	Pl. VIII., No. 4, 4*a*. A *Querbeil*, butt rather pointed.
35	**1 B**	A broken specimen.
36	**2**	Triangular, like No. 11. Rather thick for this type.

The larger implements (**1 A** and **1 B**) are made of coarser materials, whilst the smaller implements, polished all over, are made of such fine stones as breccia and above all haematite. The full list of all the celts acquired in the district, which it is proposed to publish later, will shew the great preponderance of two materials, a coarse green stone (copper diabase ?) and haematite. The discovery of both main types, **1 A—B** and

2, *in situ* in a dwelling is of importance, as it clearly shews that they were in contemporary use. Both types were also found together in the cache of celts at Anemoduri near Megalopolis,[1] and it is thus quite certain that they are contemporary forms.

Millstones.

Four millstones were found, three in the house and one in the rock-shelter.

A typical example from the house is an irregular stone disc about ·30 m. in diameter, with each face worked into a shallow conical hollow. The upper stone must therefore have been rotated, and not, as with the saddle querns common in the Cretan bronze age, worked backwards and forwards. One other was hollowed on both faces, and the remaining two on one face only. In all cases the stones are discs, and the shape of the hollow is the same.

General Relations.

There are without doubt in this region many other such neolithic farmsteads awaiting discovery. The knoll on which Karýdhi is built may have been one, for several celts were found in a pocket in the rock on its steep northern face by a man digging a hole in which to mix mortar. The physical nature of the country, with its rocky hills, and the masses of bones of sheep and probably of goats found in the rock-shelter, point to a prevailingly pastoral people. It is striking to find at so remote a period obsidian coming presumably from Melos. How remote the period is it is not possible to say. Judging by the crudeness of the pottery and the absence both of the finer polished ware that marks the higher neolithic levels at Knossos and elsewhere, and of the obsidian blades found with the earliest Cretan Bronze Age remains, this settlement must come early in the neolithic period. In any case, making full allowance for the natural simplicity of objects from what may have been only a shepherd's dwelling, there was probably a very considerable interval between these and the earliest relics of the Bronze Age.

§ 3.—AN EARLY MINOAN OSSUARY.

Further trial-pits were made this year at the foot of the northern slopes of the Kastri at the site called *τὰ Ἑλληνικά*, where the two ossuaries

[1] Cf. *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 1901, 85, Plate 5.

described in *B.S.A.* x. pp. 197 and 202, were found, resulting in the finding of another of the same type, which, with this year's discovery on the top of the knoll of Sarandári makes a total of seven, plans of five of which are given in Fig. 4. Of these, numbered chronologically, I. is described in *B.S.A.* viii. p. 290, but was too much destroyed for a plan to be possible; II. (Fig. 4, No 1) in *B.S.A.* x. p. 197; III. (Fig. 4, No. 3) is the one in question; IV. (Fig. 4, No. 4) is the ossuary discovered this year on the top of the rocky knoll of Sarandári, surrounded by Late Minoan III. *larnakes*, sheltered beneath its overhanging edges; V. (Fig. 4, No. 5) is the site called Patema, south of the town on the northern slopes of Petsofá (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 351); for VI. (Fig. 4, No. 2) see *B.S.A.* x. p. 202; and VII. is the large ossuary found in the first year's campaign (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 291, Fig. 5).

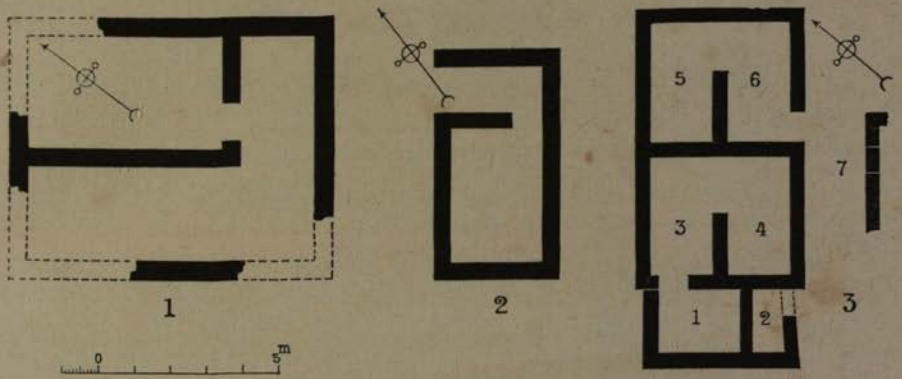
A comparison of the plans will shew that No. 3 does not differ essentially from the others. Of the six compartments enclosed by low walls only two contained very much. In the others very little was found, but **3** and **4** proved to be filled with the usual confused mass of re-interred bones mixed with pottery and other objects.

The vases, of which forty-one were found complete, were as usual the most important class of object found. They rank with the Early Minoan ware, decorated with linear geometric patterns in white paint on a black ground of which scanty fragments were found last year and figured in *B.S.A.* x. p. 199, Fig. 2. This ossuary and the early deposits in Block χ have now given us a considerable quantity of this fabric, which from its immediate precedence to Middle Minoan we may follow Dr. Evans in classing as Early Minoan III. Fig. 5 gives three specimen vases, of which *c* is from Block χ, and *a* and *b* from this ossuary, which contains all the chief forms found at Palaikastro. The list agrees very closely with that deduced by Miss Hall in her publication[1] of a large mass of fragments of this ware found at Gourniá, and may be held to be fairly complete, except for large domestic vessels, which owing to the scattered nature of the material from the houses have not been so well preserved. The forty-one vases are as follows:—

Seven handleless cups of the peculiar shape shewn in Fig. 5, *c*.

Twenty straightsided handleless cups, three with the pattern shewn in Fig. 5, *b*, and three with some pattern in white on bands of dark paint laid on the clay, like Fig. 5, *a*.

[1] *Transactions, Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania*, Vol I. Part III. p. 5.



OSSUARIES on the West slope of KASTRI

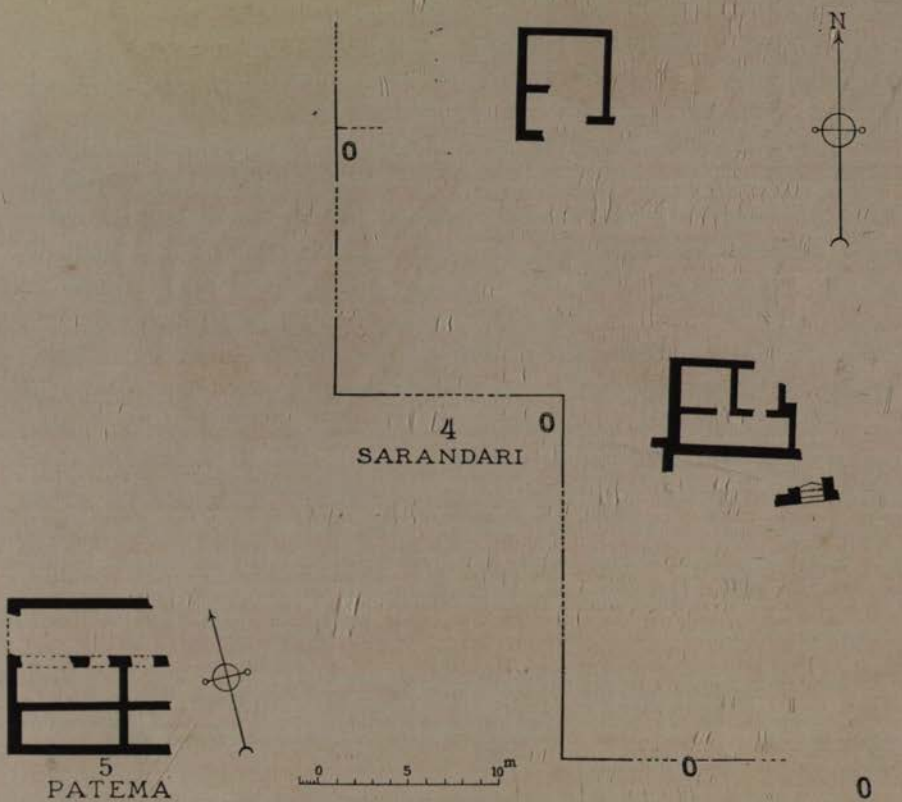


FIG. 4.—EARLY AND MIDDLE MINOAN OSSUARIES AT PALAIKASTRO.

Three hole-mouthed jars.

Four cups with slightly contracted mouths. These and the jars were found just outside the ossuary in the space marked **7**, and are a little different in style.

Two round-bodied *schnabelkannen*.

Three handleless cups pinched out below to form a foot. In the χ **59** deposit described below, fragments of cups were found like those from Knossos shewn in *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 167, Fig. 1, Nos. 7, 8, 11, 12. The paring of the sides of a cup with a knife, noticed by Dr. Mackenzie at Knossos, also occurs.

One small two-handled vase.

One pyxis, standing on three short feet.

FIG. 5.—EARLY MINOAN III. CUPS. (1 : 2).

Besides these a clay pithos-lid, fragments of a large dish and of a large two-handled cylindrical jar, and the spout of a vessel like an early example from the gravel ridge, shewn in *B.S.A.* ix. p. 307, Fig. 7, No. 1. The rarity of cups with handles is remarkable.

The patterns, always geometrical, are carried out in white paint on a hardly lustrous black or red ground, which either entirely covers the outside of the vase and its rim, but rarely the whole of the inside, or is laid on in broad stripes, which are further decorated with the white pattern. The dark on light technique is, with rare exceptions, confined to simple streaks on large vessels. The dots and hatchings of white lines so commonly found, recall the earlier incised ware, and on a few sherds actually incised dots were found, but any analysis of the patterns must be deferred, as it can only be done with advantage in connexion with the patterns on Middle

Minoan vases. Reference meanwhile may be made to Miss Hall's full publication of the material from Gourniá mentioned above.

The immediate succession of this style to the red-surfaced ware classed by Dr. Evans as Early Minoan II., of which a large number of vases has been found at Basilikí near Gourniá,[1] and its precedence to the earliest Middle Minoan style that marks the big ossuaries at Patema (V., Fig. 4, No. 5) and on the gravel ridge (VII) will be discussed below in the account of the strata in Block χ. It is of interest here as shewing the length and continuity of the series of these burials, ossuary II. described in *B.S.A.* x. p. 197, containing E. M. II ware, this one, E. M. III., and the others nothing with few exceptions earlier than Middle Minoan, but of this, vases marking both its earlier and later divisions. As the contents of I. are earlier than those of II. and may in part be classed as Early Minoan I., we have the interesting fact that the custom of secondary interments in these ossuaries lasted from the very beginning of the Bronze Age right through Early and Middle Minoan times.

The other objects found were two bronze daggers, whose earliness is proved by other examples found elsewhere in Crete, an oval marble palette, ·09 × ·05 m., with one side flat and surrounded by a groove, and the other convex, a small alabaster bowl, the spout of a marble bowl, obsidian knives and a cowry shell.

§ 4.—TEMPLE SITE (BLOCK χ).

This block of buildings, covering some 1300 sq. m. (see Key plan, Pl. IX.), has now been fully excavated, and although no more Greek inscriptions or anything in the nature of a Minoan shrine were found, a layer, in some places as much as a metre thick, of archaic terra-cotta architectural fragments and bronze objects and the lower courses of what was probably a *temenos*-wall of the temple were uncovered, whilst the Minoan strata were deeper than anywhere else on the site, except parts of Block π, and ranged from Early Minoan to the end of Late Minoan. Plan and sections are given on Plates X. and XI.

If we take these strata in order beginning with the earliest, we find first the scanty remains of a large building with very thick walls, belonging to the Early Minoan period, built of small unhewn stones. Associated

[1] Published by Mr. Seager.

with them were sherds of the characteristic pottery with polished red or mottled surface found in the American excavation at Vasilikí, and classed by Dr. Evans as Early Minoan II. Although no complete vases were recovered, the sherds were sufficient to prove the presence of all the usual shapes, specimens of which were found last year in the lower strata in δ **32**, and in the ossuary II. (for plan see Fig. 4, No. 1, above) at τὰ Ἑλληνικά (*B.S.A.* x. p. 200 and p. 197 with Fig. 1). Among the sherds was a very rude unpainted clay figurine, the body a mere column and the arms short stumps projecting at the level of the face, on which only the nose and eyes are marked. There are no indications of sex, nor are the neck, waist or legs marked at all. It stands on a small base, with a total height of ·09 m. These deposits were richest in rooms **39** and **32**, but isolated sherds were common at the lowest level just above the virgin soil.

The next stratum consisted of the deposits of Early Minoan III. ware referred to in the description above in §3 of the ossuary (III.) of this period. The same stratification of these two styles was noticed last year in the deposits in δ **32**, and was found also at Vasilikí, where Mr. Seager's Periods III. and IV.[1] are marked respectively, the former by Early Minoan II. red-faced ware and the latter by this Early Minoan III. geometric style. The immediate succession of the one to the other is proved by the presence of a certain amount of the older early Minoan II. ware persisting into Mr. Seager's Period IV., whilst among the enormous mass of Early Minoan III. fragments examined by Miss Hall at Gourniá the earlier style did not occur.[2]

These deposits were found amongst the Middle Minoan foundations which occupy the centre of the block, and especially in **39**, at a higher level than the remains of the large Early Minoan building, though it was not possible to associate them definitely with any set of walls. The richest deposit, 2·50 m. thick, was found under the Late Minoan II. floor in room **59**. With the painted sherds, which were more frequent and finer at the higher levels, a great many plain pieces were found. Five or six painted cups were practically complete.

Besides, as at Vasilikí, a few surviving sherds of the earlier Early Minoan III. style, all through this deposit, in isolated sherds at the bottom and only at the top in any frequency, where little else was found, occurred

[1] *Transactions, Department of Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. Part III. p. 13.
[2] One or two sherds only I believe were found.

fragments of Middle Minoan I. cups.[1] Fig. 5 *d* gives a characteristic form restored from a fragment. Yellow paint, and above all the festoon-pattern that marks Middle Minoan I. appear, but the latter is combined with a hatching of parallel lines belonging to the earlier style. The finely purified clay and more lustrous ground of these fragments belongs to the Middle Minoan fabrics, and it looks as if the two wares came from different workshops. This deposit thus agrees with the stratification observed elsewhere, and gives us the geometrical light-on-dark Early Minoan III. style in its historical position between the red-faced pottery of Vasilikí and that of the Middle Minoan Period.

The stratum next above this consists of a network of walls occupying the area between the two Late Minoan II. houses described below, and associated with Middle Minoan pottery. This was mostly much broken, but a rich deposit, with many complete vases, was found at the west end of χ **18**. The masonry was of small stones roughly dressed. This stratum brings us to the time of some great change at Palaikastro, when the ossuaries went out of use, and the town was largely rebuilt; a deduction from the fact that in many places in the town where Middle Minoan pottery is found, the associated walls stand in no connexion with those above them. Thus the street east of House χ **51–66** was only opened after the Middle Minoan period, and one of the corners of the Middle Minoan building that occupied the site of the later House χ **1–17** may be seen in the plan to block the course of the later street. This agrees with the many traces of a general catastrophe at the end of Middle Minoan II. that Dr. Evans discovers at Knossos, and with the fact that nothing Middle Minoan was found at Kato Zakro. The founding of the settlement there was contemporary with a great rebuilding of Palaikastro, and it is with this that the long period Late Minoan I. and II. begins.

During this period no general catastrophe took place, and consequently floor-deposits are rare and its accumulated heaps of sherds are the chief source for its ceramic history, which is briefly the gradual disappearance of the old light-on-dark technique, and the degeneration of the dark-on-light glaze-paint of the ordinary painted ware, by the side of occasional very fine examples. Magnificence and poverty are found side by side in Late

[1] The shapes are those shewn in *B.S.A.* ix. p. 302, Fig. 1, Nos. 1 to 6, described there as Class A Kamáres and identified in *B.S.A.* x. p. 193 as corresponding to M.M.I. of the Knossian scheme.

Minoan II., just as in the contemporary Zakro Houses Mr. Hogarth found the splendid filler published in *J.H.S.* xxii. Pl. XII. 1, by the side of very poor vases, whilst among Late Minoan I. ware it is hard to find a poor piece of dark-on-light work. At that time it was the earlier Kamáres light-on-dark that was in process of degeneration.

The length of this period is proved by the quantity of refuse accumulated. The deposit in π 42 was more that a metre thick, and the

FIG. 6 *a*. FIG. 6 *b*.

VASES OF THE EARLIER LATE MINOAN I. STYLE (1 : 3).

total mass of painted fragments from various parts of the site is very considerable. For its architecture we have the houses as finally burned and deserted, and for the finer masonry of its earlier years scattered specimens that survived until the time of general destruction. Of these the clearest are the walls marked L. M. I. in the plan and sections of

Block π on Plates XII. and XIII., and the remains of the Western House in Block χ, **51–66**, as well as the walls near the main street between the two large houses χ **1–17** and **51–66**, which are the earliest part of this block after the Middle Minoan remains. Contrary to what is often observed, these latter walls follow fairly closely the lines of the preceding constructions. The style of building is however different: the small irregular stones have given way to fairly regular courses, in which the limestone from Capo Sidhero is largely employed. To the fortunate circumstance that this area was early ruined and not occupied during Late Minoan II. times, we owe the two largest floor-deposits of Late Minoan I. vases from the site, which give us in complete examples what we have elsewhere only in fragments. One of these was in **30** and the other in **43**, where above and mixed with the vases were great quantities of crushed murex shells.

FIG. 7.—BOWLS OF THE EARLIER LATE MINOAN I. STYLE (1:3).

This latter yielded hundreds of small plain cups and saucers,[1] descendants of Middle Minoan forms, and some fine painted vases, two of which are shewn in Fig. 6. These are exactly contemporary with the vases from the pits at Zakro. The bowl, Fig. 6 *a*, painted inside and out with a floral pattern in a fine reddish-brown glaze-paint, is just like the bowls described in *J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 251, and the tall jar (Fig. 6 *b*) has the same combination of dark-on-light with light-on-dark decoration as the vases from Zakro published in *J.H.S.* xxii. Plate XII. Nos. 2 and 3. Of this shape there were fragments of four or five vases. As also at Zakro, cups of the Vaphio shape and bowls (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 249, Figs. 1 and 3) in the light-on-dark technique were extremely common, repeating several of the characteristic Zakro patterns. Fig. 7 gives two painted bowls of the same period found this year in χ **18**. They are painted inside with a plain dark wash.

Room **48** yielded the stone bed of an olive-press (Fig. 8), which, as it was nearly as deep as the vases in **43**, must belong to this same period, as, though not *in situ*, it was below the foundation of the Late Minoan III. walls. It is ·52 m. in diameter and ·16 thick, with a circular runnel on the upper face, and rim raised above the central part. This rim is a good deal

[1] For these cup-like Saucers see the footnote below in § 5, p. 288.

broken away, and the outlet is not preserved. For a square olive-press found at Knossos see *B.S.A.* vii. p. 82.[1]

The next stratum is represented by the two large houses χ East (**1–17**) and West (**51–66**), of which separate plans are given in Figs. 9 and 13, containing floor-deposits which point to desertion at the same time as B **1–22** and the Zakro houses, that is, at the end of this second period of the town's

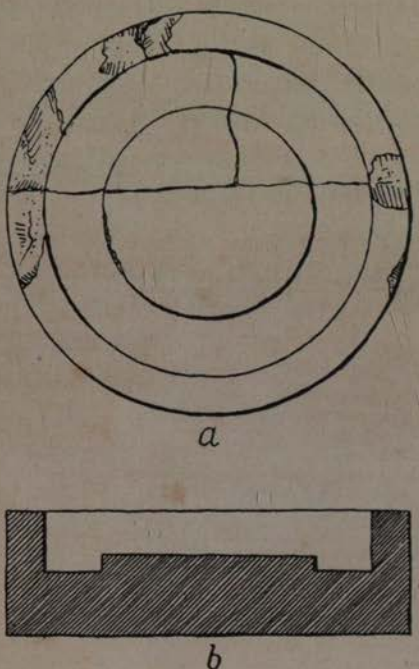


FIG. 8.—STONE BED OF OLIVE-PRESS.
a, Plan; *b*, Section (1 : 10).

existence. The earlier of the two in construction is clearly χ West (**51–66**), the masonry of which resembles in its use of regular courses the earlier walls of this period. Its irregular plan also contrasts with the rectangularity shewn by χ East and B **1–22**.

It stands free from other buildings, with a roughly square plan, opening on the street, which divides it on the west from Block β. South is the main street; north and east, though it stood free, no street pavement

[1] For the subject in general see Paton and Myres, *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 209.

was found. Everywhere, except along the main street, the walls were destroyed right down to the floors, leaving only the foundations. Thus the numerous finds were all on a level with the tops of these foundation-walls. The floors of **64** and **66** were particularly well marked. The centre of the former consisted of a large slab of fine limestone measuring 1·95 × 1·30 m.,

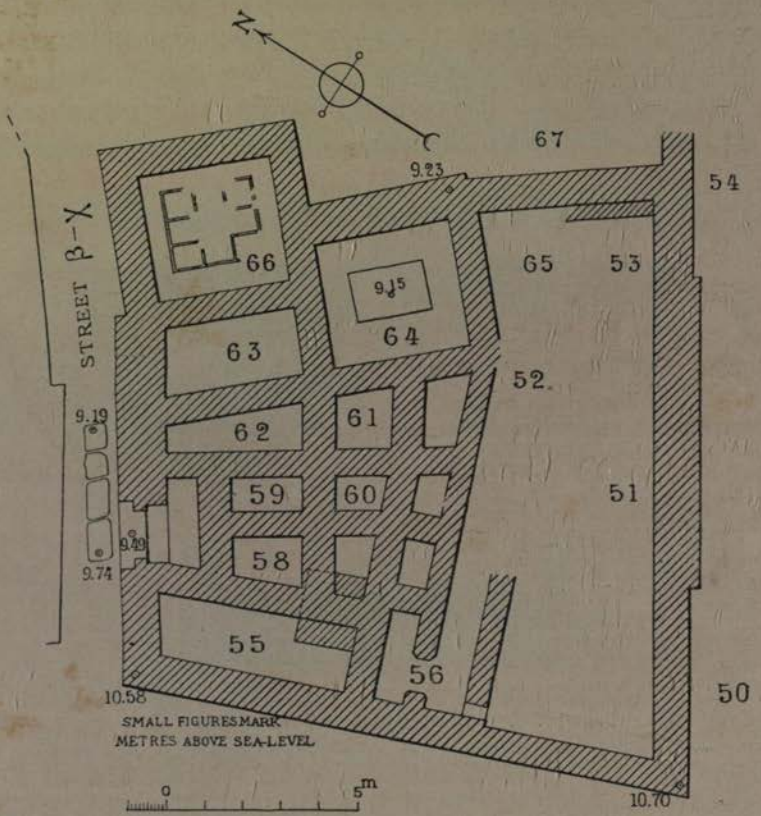


FIG. 9.—LATE MINOAN HOUSE (51–66) IN BLOCK χ.

below which were some earlier walls, whilst the latter had an ornament formed of lines of stucco, laid apparently in earth, making a Greek cross set in a square. As the plan shews, it was almost complete. It recalls the floors of rooms in the private quarters of the Palace of Phaestos, which have lines of coloured plaster laid between stone slabs, and especially the floor of the portico with a similar cross-pattern (*Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 75,

Fig. 27 and Pl. VII). These two spaces were clearly rooms; the rest are too small, and it seems likely that the foundations supported pillars.

The wall of the main street was standing to a height of 1·50 m., and shewed a masonry of regular courses, with many of the squared blocks of Cape Sidhero limestone. This style of building occurs in both Block χ and Block π in connexion with Late Minoan I. pottery, and seems to mark the earliest elements of the buildings constructed after Middle Minoan times. The irregularity of the plan of this house also points to its having been built earlier than the eastern house χ **1–17** and its contemporary B **1–22**. The use of ashlar of poros-stone in the eastern wall is exceptional, as this usually marks Late Minoan III. structures.

It was in making a preliminary trench, to determine the limit of the Hellenic deposit, that we first came upon evidence of the richness of this

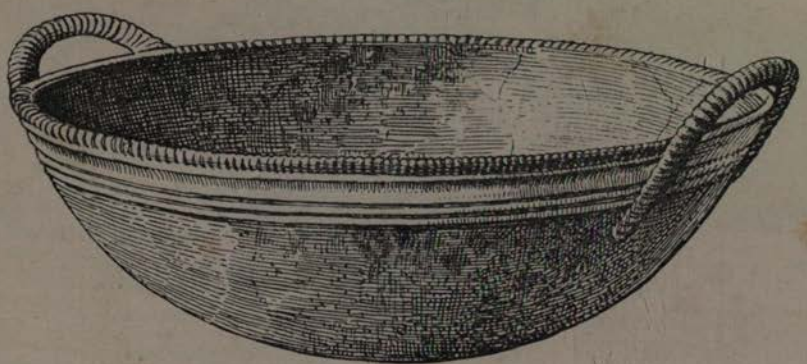


FIG. 10.—LATE MINOAN STONE BOWL (1 : 2).

house in the shape of a hoard of some thirty-five stone vases, lying in burned earth above the foundation-walls marked **61** and **62**. Subsequent finds in this house raised the number to forty-six; eight cups, seven small squat bowls, eleven bowls of other forms, five covers were found, and other vessels of less usual shapes, amongst them a fine pear-shaped filler and a grey marble hammer, like the one from "Αγια Τριάδα figured in *Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 56, Fig. 26. Three bowls were of the pattern shewn in Fig. 10, with edge and upright handles carved with a cord-pattern. These are of thin section and beautifully finished. Two large steatite lamps were so much injured by fire that it was not possible to do more than sketch them as they were. One was ·25 m. high by ·33 m. across, the other, of which the bowl

was edged by a pattern of drooping leaves, was ·22 m. high by ·24 m. in greatest diameter. The materials used for these vases were steatite, breccia, and, most usually, a hard dark-blue stone.

This find made it clear that the house must be completely excavated, and it was near the heap of stone vases that we afterwards came upon the finest vase of the year (Fig. 11). This was an oinochoe which, when mended

FIG. 11.—LATE MINOAN II. OINOCHOE (1 : 3).

and restored, for unfortunately only about half of it was recovered, proved to be exactly of the same shape as the fine vase with papyrus ornament discovered two years ago in β 22, except that it had no strainer in the mouth. The handle was entirely lost except for a little piece of its lower attachment, but its existence is certain. The ornament is in parts identical with that of the vase from Mycenae published by Mr. Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* xxiv. Pl. XIII. It has the same branches ending in a flower and the subsidiary *Füll-ornamente* are the same. No added white is employed. The paint is well preserved, and, as the lost parts are fairly evenly distrib-

uted, the pattern in all its parts can be restored with certainty. The paint is a reddish-brown, the ground a warm buff, and the clay of a characteristic pink colour. This vase in shape and style is excelled by none found at Palaikastro.

The other pottery of importance came from room **57**. Besides fourteen plain or coarsely painted vases, there were three finely painted examples. One was a three-handled *Bügelkanne* (Fig. 12 *a*) with a very

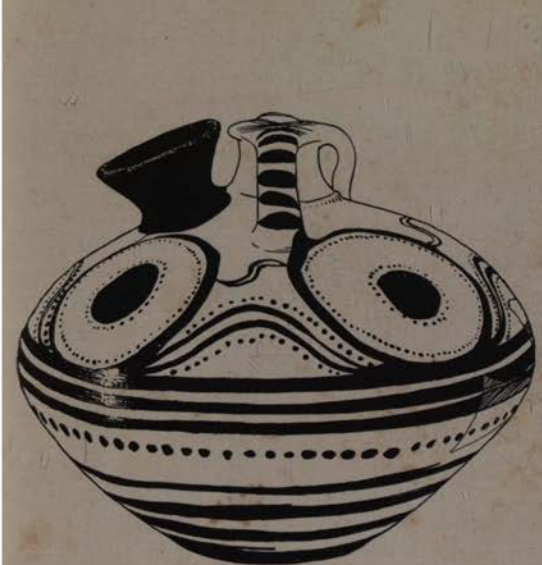


FIG. 12 *a*.

FIG. 12 *b*.

LATE MINOAN II. VASES FROM χ 57 (1 : 3).

open mouth, or exactly the shape of the one from the bath-room in House β (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 313, Fig. 26). The pattern is a later modification of a kind of spiral common on L. M. I. vases. Another was a painted jug (Fig. 12 *b*) of a shape found in β **22** (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 313, Fig. 11). The third was a large round-bodied spouted jug decorated on the shoulder with four-leaved whorls of black paint, the leaves of which are diversified with twigs and bars in white. Below are bands of black, white, and red. This alone of these objects looks earlier than the bulk of the L. M. II. deposits, and

resembles rather the L. M. I. sherds that accumulated during the period of the habitation of these houses.[1]

A similar vase was found in the lower stratum in β **10** (*B.S.A.* ix, p. 285, Fig. 5), but this stratum is now shewn by the deposits in π **38–40, 42** and **24** described below to belong not to the period of the pits of Zakro, but to the later rather than to the earlier part of Late Minoan I. Their presence in Late Minoan

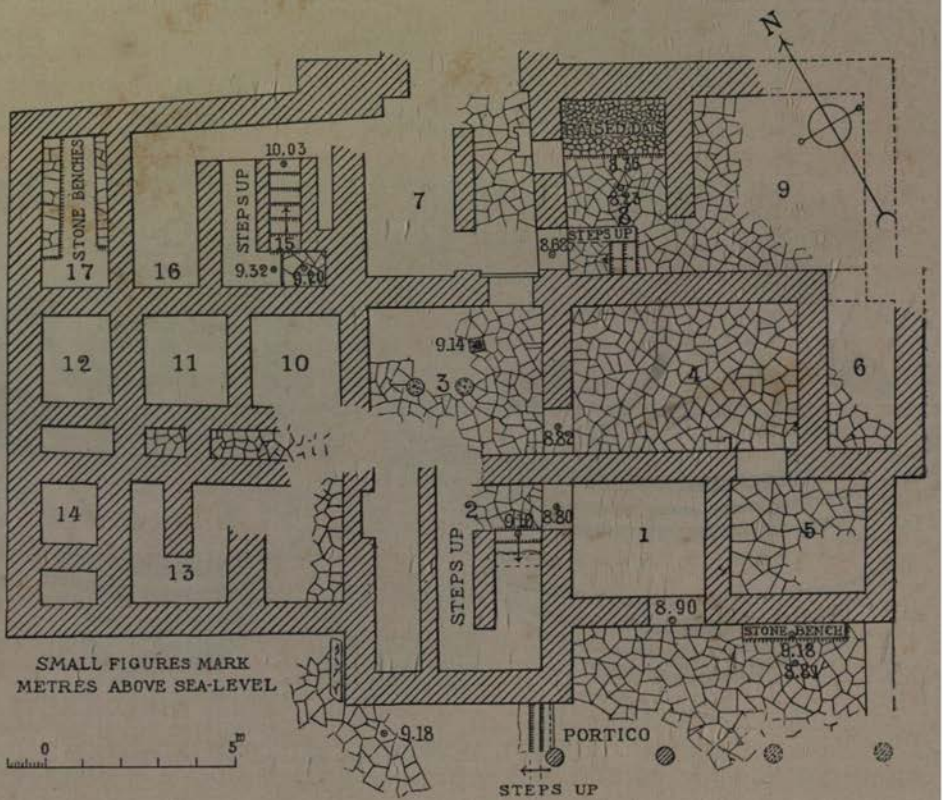


FIG. 13.—LATE MINOAN II. HOUSE (1–17) IN BLOCK χ.

II. deposits means no more than that vases of slightly different ages, or perhaps only traditions, were in use in the same house, and such preservation of finely painted ware is only natural. A third example was found in a Late Minoan II. deposit in Block ε (*B.S.A.* ix, p. 204).

Of bronze there were found two chisels, two heavy double axes, and a fine bronze sword-blade 40 m. long, which was attached to the hilt by three rivets,

[1] The Museum at Thera contains a vase of this shape: it is a clear imitation of Cretan work and amongst native copies of L. M. I. ware.

the heads of which are plated with silver. In form it is intermediate between the short daggers of earlier times and the long slender Late Minoan III. swords found by Dr. Evans at Knossos. No such fine weapon had been found before at Palaikastro.

Built somewhat later, to judge from its masonry and regular plan, was the large house, **1–17**, that occupies the eastern part of this block, of which a separate plan is given in Fig. 13. It covers the site of massive middle Minoan and Late Minoan I. buildings, but at a slightly different angle. The Middle Minoan building ran out into what later on was the street, one of the differences between the earlier and later plans of the town mentioned above.

The plan of the L. M. II. house is regular and consists of two wings separated by a projecting room. This is as it was built originally; as it stands it shews marks of much remodelling, It will be noticed from the plan that whilst rooms **1–9** are well paved and provided with doors, both pavement and doors are almost entirely wanting in the west wing. The pottery shews a corresponding difference; rooms **10** to **17** yielded Late Minoan II. ware of the poor glaze and style[1] that marks the inferior painted vases of this period, whilst **1–9** contained Late Minoan III. pottery. It seems therefore that rooms **10–17** represent the foundations and cellars of the original house, and the centre and east wing a late occupation and remodelling. A small deposit of sherds was found amongst burned earth under a floor at the foot of the stairs in room **15**. These sherds resemble those from the earlier burned stratum in β **10** and **13**, and serve to put back the original building of the house to the same period as the building of House β **1–22**. The masonry, where original, is characteristic. In the west wing the regular courses of the earlier style preserved in House χ **51–66** have given way to an irregular manner of building, whilst the centre and east wing contain much ashlar masonry, which is rare earlier, and generally marks Late Minoan III. buildings.

Of the earlier half of the house the only parts of the plan, of interest are room **17** with two stone benches and the staircase **15**, at the foot of which was the earlier deposit referred to.

The most important finds from this area were a series of carvings in ivory of excellent workmanship and very fine preservation. Room **15**

[1] This 'inferior glaze' was remarked by Mr. Hogarth in the pottery of the contemporary houses at Zakro, *B.S.A.* vii. p. 145.

yielded a plaque (·06 × ·04 m.) decorated with a pattern of scattered lilies with recurved petals in intaglio (Fig. 14 *b*). This came from the lower burned stratum and is therefore earlier than the others.

Room **10** yielded a plaque (·11 × ·038 to ·027 m.) carved with emblems in relief, probably of religious import. On one side is a circular coronal, and on the other two tassel-like objects and a double axe. Instead of a shaft this has a spreading treble tassel and above a loop seemingly of plaited cord. The general effect is that of the Egyptian *ankh*. It is in fact the same figure that appears on a gold signet ring from the Vaphio tomb figured by Dr. Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *J.H.S.* xxi. p. 176, Fig. 52, who gives (Fig. 54) the allied forms, and suggests the crossing with the double axe symbol, which in this instance is very clearly shewn. The axe-blades have the decoration of transverse lines common on Cretan representations of the double axe. From the same room came a heavy bronze double axe.

From **16** came what may be the back of an ivory comb, and from **17** a plaque (·07 × ·03 m.) bearing in relief a flying peacock, with above and below a band of the rockwork pattern like that on the cups from Vaphio (Fig. 14 *a*). The bird is shewn descending with uplifted wings as if about to perch. The attitude is that of birds on contemporary cups from Phylakopi, and adds another to the numerous links between Crete and Melos (*Phylakopi*, Pl. xvi. 1, 2, and 4). The three holes seen in the side of the plaque pass right through its breadth and together with the incompleteness of the design on both sides suggest that it was strung with others to form perhaps a belt. The finding of a rough piece of ivory from the centre of a tusk makes it probable that these objects are the work of local artists.

This latter room yielded also a bronze sickle, a clay 'firebox,' stone weights, the pommel of a sword or sceptre in marble, and two stone vessels. Fallen painted plaster, noted especially in **16** and **17**, indicated the usual style of Late Minoan wall-decoration.

The plan of the rooms **1**–**9**, the part of the house re-occupied in Late Minoan III. times, after the general desertion of the site at the end of L. M. II., offers more of interest. The entrance is into room **1** from a colonnaded portico with paved floor. The bases of two of the columns were found *in situ* and indications of the former position of the other two. Outside the projecting room **2** there exists the beginning of an external staircase, which may have led to an upper storey. From **1** a door on the

left leads to **2**, where is the main staircase. Room **8** also has a stair. The centre of the whole building is **3**, with its two circular column bases. Near them is a square block fallen from above. Besides a good deal of broken pottery serving to date the period of desertion, the most important finds were a fine stone lamp, edged with a pattern of carved leaves in room **7**, a tall standard lamp, found last year, of the same red stone in room **5**, and, in the doorway between **3** and **7**, a small pair of 'horns-of-consecration' made of sandstone.

A number of other walls in this block belong to the same period

FIG. 14 *a*.

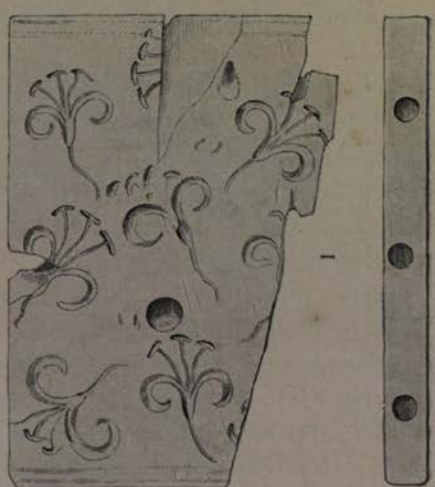


FIG. 14 *b*.

CARVED IVORY PLAQUES (1 : 1).

(Late Minoan III.) as the remodelling of this east wing, and were deserted at the same time. Thus later buildings were constructed on the centre of the block and on part of the site of House **51–66**, all agreeing in the character of the pottery and the use of ashlar masonry. These buildings were all much destroyed, no doubt by the building of the Hellenic Temple, which involved the levelling of the upper, i.e. the western part of this region: whereas in other parts of the site, where habitation ceased after the Minoan age, the Late Minoan III. buildings are usually well preserved. With this third period the existence of the town, already twice ruined and

rebuilt, came finally to an end, and nothing remained but the traditional sanctity of the spot, evidenced by the remains of the Greek temple.

§ 5.—BLOCK π.

The completion of work on this block consisted almost entirely of examining lower strata in the northern and eastern quarters. Whilst in one part of the block (**26** on Plates XII. and XIII.) the rocky subsoil rises so high as to have led to the total destruction of all remains, in the immediately adjacent regions to the north and east it sinks so low as to leave some three or four metres of deposit with four clearly separate strata of walls. Plate XII. gives a plan shewing the two earlier sets, Middle Minoan and, above this, but on different lines, Late Minoan I., and Plate XIII. the Late Minoan II. structures, which especially in **7–22** are closely followed by the Late Minoan III. walls.

In last year's report (*B.S.A.* x. p. 212) an account was given of Houses **1–6**, **7–16**, **17–22**. The remains in the two latter were mostly Late Minoan III., over the remains of Late Minoan II. houses. This year more rooms (see Pl. XIII.) (**27**, **28**, and **23–25**) of this second period have been explored, though the yield was only enough pottery to fix their relations. Of these **23–25** belonged to a house, the rest of which, lying probably to the east, has perished by the denudation of the slope, since there seems to be a party-wall between them and **20–22**.

More extensive remains are preserved of the Late Minoan III. House **29–37** (Pl. XII.), which opens on the main street by a narrow vestibule (**29**) with four steps. From this one passes to the stairs (**30**), leading to an upper storey of which no other trace is left. Right and left of this vestibule were other rooms, **31–33** and **34–37**, the former following the lines of an earlier Late Minoan I. building.

Beyond a good deal of the characteristic pottery, all much broken, nothing was found in this stratum. This however, with the masonry and free use of ashlar, clearly fixes the period.

Of Late Minoan II. very little pottery and correspondingly little wall was found this year in this block, and the next important stratum below the Late Minoan III. described above belongs to the period of rebuilding after Middle Minoan times. Here the finds of pottery consisted of deep accumulations formed during the period between the rebuilding of the

town and its desertion at the end of Late Minoan II.; giving therefore a picture of the development during this time.

The walls were of the early style seen in House χ **51–66**, well built of large blocks, and give a house consisting of rooms **30–33**, and **38–42**. Walls were identified also in **24** and **27**, and a good deal of the house probably once stood where the ground rises (**26**), and the entrance may have been in this quarter. The earth between these walls, a depth of more than a metre, was very full of the accumulation of pottery, mostly broken. The greatest quantity was in **38–40**, **42** and **24**. About half-way down and about at the level of the top of the wall between **41** and **43**, the pottery, mainly in **41**, was mixed up with what seems the remains of a place of sacrifice, white ashes and a great number of bones of oxen and the cores of their horns. Fragments of four or five clay bulls' heads were also found, one of which can be restored. The neck is closed and the nose and back of the neck are pierced. Similar objects have been found at Phylakopi (*Phylakopi*, p. 205, Figs. 178, 179) and at Gourniá (*Trans. Univ. Penns.* i. 1, p. 42). Their presence here suggests that possibly they were a cheap substitute for a sacrifice. The practice of sacrificing a bull is depicted on the unpublished *larnax* from Phaistos, as a part of the cult of the deity of the double axe and horns of consecration, so often on other monuments connected with the bull. The remains of at least twenty clay standard lamps were found amongst these bones and ashes. Viewed in connexion with the building of the Temple on almost exactly the same spot, these remains are significant for the traditional sanctity of the place, shewing it deeply rooted in the pre-Hellenic past.

As this pottery was dug out, it was seen to represent a steady accumulation, and successive layers were kept separate. The characteristic Late Minoan I. patterns, common in the pits at Zakro, but hardly found in the usual Palaikastro Late Minoan II. floor-deposits, occurred all through, but as the depth increased the light-on-dark technique grew more common. Thus in **42**, where four layers were kept separate, it was found on successively 5 per cent., 26 per cent., 39 per cent., and in the lowest layer on 50 per cent. of the painted sherds. The last percentage fairly represents the pottery of the Zakro pits, which can now be placed early in this period. The deposits in **38–40** and **24** seem to have begun somewhat later, as the percentage of light-on-dark taken as a whole reaches only 8 per cent. and 9 per cent. In these two deposits the addition of red stripes to a dark-on-

light design is fairly common, whilst in the earlier **42** strata it is very rare, and in the Zakro pits and the pottery of χ **30** and **43** is not found at all. In the Late Minoan I. deposit in β **13** and with similar vases found elsewhere it is frequent, just as the light-on-dark technique is rare. These deposits thus enable us to distinguish two phases in Late Minoan I. pottery, the first marked by the commonness of the old Middle Minoan light-on-dark often (as in the Zakro vases published in *J.H.S.* xxii. Pl. XII. 2 and 3, and some very fine fragments from these deposits) on the same vase as the dark-on-light, the second by the addition of red to a dark-on-light design, as distinguished from the Earlier Middle Minoan red used

FIG. 15.—VASES WITH FLORAL DESIGNS FROM BLOCK π (1 : 3).

in the light-on-dark technique. The earlier phase is marked also by a very strong naturalism in its floral patterns, the second by the usual restriction of the use of white paint to subsidiary ornaments and the appearance of certain vase-forms common in Late Minoan II. deposits.[1]

[1] These two phases of L. M. I. seem to correspond to Dr. Evans' M. M. III. and L. M. I., in the latter of which he notes the appearance of a new red colour. He however ascribes the pottery of the Zakro pits to L. M. I. Flat saucerlike cups which mark the Knossian M. M. III. (*B.S.A.* x. p. 8) were found in great numbers in the earlier L. M. I. pottery of χ **30** and **43**, and the pithos in π **38–40** is another link between the two. I have preferred not to describe the earlier as M. M. III. since it seems best to take the destruction of the town and the disuse of the ossuaries, which preceded it, as the boundary between Middle and Late Minoan. As at Knossos, so at Palaikastro it was a period of building, though this house was perhaps built somewhat earlier than the foundation of the later palace, which took place 'when the Third Period Middle Minoan style was fully developed' (*B.S.A.* x. p. 13).

Fig. 15, *b*, gives the fragments of a hole-mouthed jar with naturalistic floral decoration. The pod-bearing sprays of some leguminous plant are shewn in white on a dark ground, trailing over the sides of the vases without any trace of conventionalism. A small jug (Fig. 15, *a*) is ornamented with the same plant, which also appears on some fragments from Knossos (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 117, Fig. 72). In the area **38–40** against the wall of the street, on the level just above the Lower Middle Minoan walls stood a

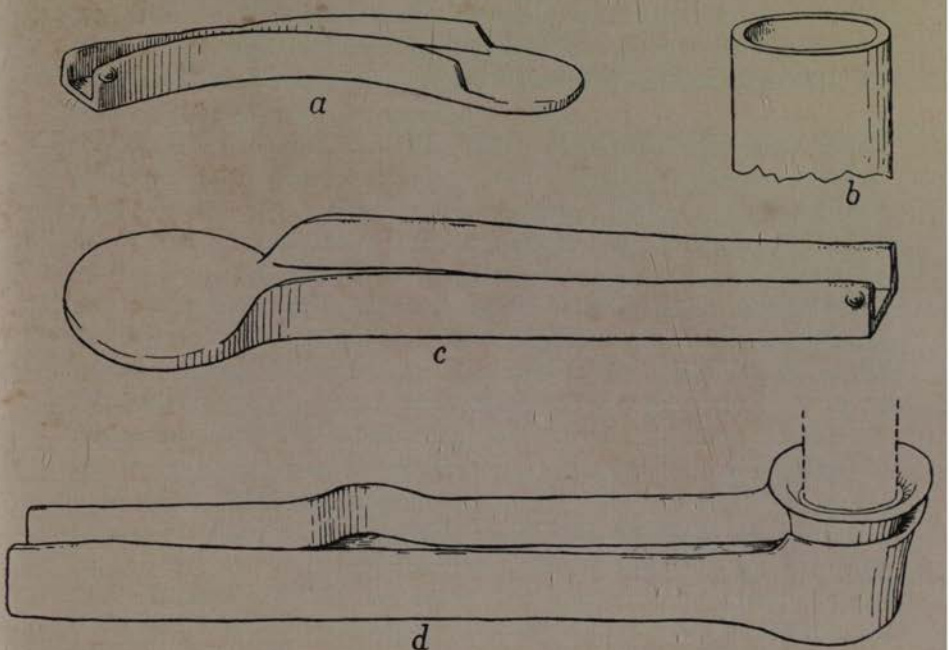


FIG. 16.—WATER-CHANNELS AND PIPES FROM BLOCK π (1 : 10).

two-handled *pithos* with a small spout opening from a heavy rim. It is covered with a dark slip and the remains of a bold decoration in white paint. Its especial interest is that it is of exactly the form and make of a *pithos* at Knossos (figured in *B.S.A.* x. p. 9, Fig. 2), attributed to the Middle Minoan III. period. Here it ranks with the apparently contemporary earlier phase of Late Minoan I.

On reaching the lowest walls in **38–40**, and at a corresponding depth

in **24**, a floor-level is reached, below which the pottery changes to Middle Minoan, and the percentage of dark-on-light design drops from 50 per cent. to about 5 per cent. A still lower level was reached in **24**, and amongst the walls were a few geometrical light-on-dark E. M. III. sherds, the oldest remains found in this region.

Three sets of clay water-channels were found in this block. The first, consisting of three abutting sections each ·70 m. in length, was laid in a channel of stones in the blind alley north of π **13** (see Pl. XIII.), and into this it discharged. Its original length was at least 3·50 m. The second, which appears in the upper right-hand part of Pl. XIV., *a*, and in plan in Pl. XIII., also belonged to the L. M. III. building, and ran between **27** and **33**. It consists of five sections ingeniously curved (Fig. 16, *a*), each of which overlaps the next, broken in the middle by a length of pipe (Fig. 16, *b*). The smaller end has usually two small bosses on the outside to prevent its entering too far into the larger end of the next section below. In two cases (Fig. 16, *a* and *c*) the section terminates at the upper end in a broad flat plate. The total length preserved is nearly 5·00 m.

The third drain (Pl. XII.) is at right angles to and discharges on the main street between **33** and **38**. Bedded on Middle Minoan walls and below a thick deposit of Late Minoan I. pottery, it seems to have carried off the water from the roof of a house (**30–33**) of the latter period. Its length is 4·00 m. and it has four abutting sections, with a fall of ·06 m. The uppermost section is rounded at the end, where it supports a bell-shaped piece, inside which are remains of the plaster that clearly served to secure a vertical pipe, carrying the water from the eaves to the ground. Fig. 16, *d* shews this section. No parts of the vertical pipe were found. The drawings (Fig. 16) shew the construction of these drains, the most detailed that have been found, though fragments of water-channels are not uncommon.

§ 6.—A LARNAX-BURIAL.

The ridge of conglomerate and gravel, on the lower stretch of which the Middle Minoan ossuary was found in 1902, descends from the slopes of Petsofá, parallel to a second ridge a little to the west. Between the two the ground sinks, and the overhanging ledges seemed likely to harbour tombs; and indeed several interesting objects were found here last year

when a good many trenches were made on these slopes. This year trial-pits were dug all round this sunken area. In two of them worked stones were found in disorder, but nothing else. A third, just under the over-hanging edge of the eastern ridge, was more successful. First, a small piece of wall roughly parallel to the ridge was found, and inside it a much crushed body, but nothing to indicate its date. Quite close to this, and within a metre of the surface, a tub-*larnax* of the usual kind, of which so many were found last year at Aspa (*B.S.A.* x. p. 227), appeared, its axis parallel to the edge of the rock. It was a good deal broken. Just above the level of the top of this *larnax* were seven much-crushed skulls, a number of human bones, and four vases, a pyxis, a small *bügelkanne* and two lids, one painted. These vases shewed at once that this was a Late Minoan III. burial of the same period as the cemetery at Aspa. Inside the *larnax* were first a large *bügelkanne*, and about half-way down the broken fragments of what was probably its original cover, a plain earthen-ware slab. Below this were the original contents of the *larnax*, five skulls, a circular bronze mirror, two *bügelkannen*, a cup, and a bowl.

A few feet south of this, at a slightly different angle, a second similar *larnax* was found, resting on a bed of large stones. Round about this, but not above it, were found three skulls, two circular bronze mirrors, and five vases, a *bügelkanne*, a strainer, a cup, a bowl, and a miniature jug. With these was a cylindrical ivory bead with a hatched incised pattern. The contents of this *larnax* were some broken big bones, two crushed skulls, and some teeth. The *larnakes* were protected in front by several large stones and worked blocks of ashlar, which did not however form a regular wall.

After removing the *larnakes* we found just below them three skulls, a bronze mirror, a strainer, a pyxis containing a small vase, a pair of bronze tweezers, and four beads of glass paste. These beads had the lozenge shape and longitudinal furrows[1] characteristic of this period, and many of them were found last year at Aspa. It will be noticed as remarkable that with these two *larnakes* no less than twenty skulls were found, and but very few of the other bones. The same *larnax* was thus used for repeated interments, and these not of bodies, but of the bones only of bodies temporarily buried elsewhere. The number of skulls outside and above the *larnax*, and the absence of a corresponding number of bones, might be explained by supposing that at each interment earlier bones were thrown away

[1] Similar beads from near Phaistos are figured in *Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 136, Fig. 101.

and the skulls piled outside, but this supposition fails to account for the finding of several skulls together inside the *larnax*. This can be the result only of their use as ossuaries for the secondary interment of the skull and larger bones, as the *larnakes* are scarcely large enough for a body, and certainly not for a body and several skulls. Larger *larnakes* have been found in Crete containing one complete body in a contracted position, an excellent drawing of one of which from Artsà is published by Xanthoudides, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1904, p. 5, Fig. 1; and Savignoni (*Mon. Ant.* xiv. p. 155), in discussing the *larnax*-burials at Liliana near Phaistos, holds that even those containing several skulls were not *ossilegia* but true sarcophagi repeatedly used; I cannot however think his explanation probable, and a survival of the Middle Minoan usage of the secondary interment of the skull and principal bones seems the only possible deduction from the facts.

Below the skulls that lay beneath the *larnakes* were found a number of worked stones, and amongst these some spherical white stone beads, three bits of sheet lead, a very fine bronze double axe, ·16 m. in length, and a bronze dagger measuring ·21 m., with two rivet-holes at the end. This type of dagger is definitely earlier than Late Minoan III., as are also such double axes, and with the other objects found in this neighbourhood in 1904 belong to the Middle Minoan II. period. That they were found here among building stones in a place so suitable for interments, makes it very probable that here we have the remains of a L. M. II. built tomb, destroyed to accommodate the later *larnax*-burials, when its stones were used, some to make a bed for the *larnakes*, and some to protect them from the pressure of the earth outside. The large tomb found at Knossos shews that built tombs were in use at that time, though as yet very few Late Minoan I. and II. burials have been found in Crete.

R. M. DAWKINS.

EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO. IV.

§ 7.—Larnax Burials at Sarandári.

I visited Crete in the spring of 1905 chiefly for the purpose of making anthropometrical observations on living subjects. At Palaikástro I hoped to obtain fresh data also from ancient skeletons or *crania* and made some trial-excavations with men put at my disposal by Mr. Dawkins, first without result among the plundered ossuaries on the slopes of Kastri, then with more success in the plain. A *larnax* had been discovered some years before at a spot called Sarandári, midway between Kastri and Roussolakkos, where a low knoll of conglomerate breaks the level of the surrounding fields.[1] Its bare rocky surface shows through a scanty covering of wild thyme and sage, and is fringed by lentisk-bushes and carob-trees. Fig. 4, No. 4, p. 270, gives a plan of the whole, to the north-east the house-like walls of the ossuaries, to the south-west the *larnakes* described below.

On top of the ridge we found remains of Middle Minoan ossuaries of normal type. The soil was shallow, and the finds correspondingly insignificant, but enough was found in the shape of bones, plain vases, and sherds to make it clear that these compartments were not houses but ossuaries like those on the gravel ridge and the slope of Kastri, and dating from the same period. With the pottery the usual small stone bowls were found.

The *larnax*-burials were found on the margin of the hill in recesses or 'rock-shelters' scooped out under the conglomerate. The first was

[1] The ridge of Σαραντάρι, and the position of the *larnax*, marked by a cross, are shewn on Mr. Comyn's map, *B.S.A.* viii. Pl. XV.

located after an hour's search, and in the next five days I was rewarded by the discovery of four more and portions of several others. In each case they were tub-shaped, elliptical in plan, the sides sloping upwards and outwards from the base. Vases found with them leave no doubt that they belong to the Late Minoan III. period.

Outside *larnax* α (at the extreme north-west of the plan given above, Fig. 4, p. 270) at the north end was found another of those interesting and somewhat mysterious vases with an internal funnel and three small handles. Of the two previously discovered one was from Roussolakkos (*B.S.A.* ix. p. 285, Fig. 4) and the other from Zakro (*J.H.S.* xxiii. p. 253, Fig. 16), both from Late Minoan I. deposits. The survival of the form is noteworthy. Together with this were a

FIG. 17.—LARNAX BURIAL, SHOWING VASE LAID AMONG RE-INTERRED BONES.

bronze knife, fragments of a human tibia, femur, and humerus, and the ulna of a hare. Inside, the only osseous remains were a portion of a human tibia, phalanges, and a hare's mandible. The femur was large and stout with a moderately developed linea aspera, evidently that of a man, and the humerus so small as to suggest a child's.

About forty metres south-east from this find, I came upon *larnax* β, Fig. 17, its base 2·70 metres below the surface; and on our way down to this portions of three more were met with. At first, the workmen, who were now getting used to this reversal of things, found a hare's bone in the larnax and a skull outside. Later however a portion of a human humerus and some rib-bones appeared, and finally at the bottom and north end, we struck a cranium upside down with the facial part missing, the orbits intact, and the mandible resting on a vase close by. On either side of the skull, vase, and bowl were laid the long bones, but mixed, so that a left femur

lay with the right tibia and radius and vice-versa. The cephalic or breadth index was 75·9. The crushed and weathered condition of the cranium and the absence of the zygomatic arches made it difficult to make reliable deductions, but the slightness of the lower maxillary, the lack of definition of the supra-orbital ridges, and the form of the occiput induced me to conclude that it was a woman's. A careful study of the basilar and sagittal sutures could not be made, but the evidence such as it was and the condition of the teeth led me to suppose an adult of between thirty and thirty-five. The bones were under-sized, and allowing as best I could for fracture of the articular ends, I arrived at the low stature of 1463 mm. or 4 ft. 9½ in. Outside this larnax was a bronze vase which fell to pieces and disclosed three or four natural shells and one carved in crystal, an exact copy of the others and well finished. Close to this lay a much crushed cranium, yielding no measurements, with a fragment of a humerus, both apparently belonging to a child which, judging by the teeth, I should say was ten years old, and had a possible height of 1320 mm. or 4 ft. 4 in.

Midway between and in contrast to these two *larnakes*, *larnax* γ was found within a foot or two of the surface, where a narrow track used by cattle and goats passed over it. Outside were found at the north end a bronze mirror and a *bügelkanne*, at the south end a smaller *bügelkanne*. A miniature twin *bügelkanne* was found inside together with some gold beads and human remains. The latter consisted of fragments of two crania, unmeasurable but one evidently a man's, and a few fragments of long bones including a right and left femur, a tibia, and right and left humeri. These were somewhat muscular and may have belonged to the man's cranium, whereas fragments of a smaller and slighter tibia and humerus probably appertained to the other skull, which may have been that of a woman or youth.

Ten feet to the north-west of γ was found another *larnax*, only 25 inches long, which however fell to pieces in the process of excavation. Fragments of three crania lay outside it.

About twenty feet to the east of *larnax* β, considerable fragments of another *larnax* δ (shewn in the extreme south-east of the plan in Fig. 4) were found, and outside of it lay the facial portions of a skull and a half section of another which I concluded to be respectively that of a man and a woman. Several portions of long bones, femora, tibiae, fibulae, humeri, etc. lay near, accounting at least for three individuals, of whom one was a child.

As with the other *larnax*-burials found in this district, all the facts point to the practice of secondary interment. The unusual[1] position of the skulls, outside rather than inside the *larnakes*, may be explained by supposing that the tombs have been rifled. The gold beads in *larnax* γ may be a trace of their former wealth. The one exception affords some confirmation of this. Every Cretan excavator knows the patience and skill needed to dig out and empty a *larnax* without cracking, chipping, or fracturing it. Now *larnax* β was the only one among these which was absolutely perfect, and this contained the skull and all the long bones of a

[1] The numerous skulls found outside a *larnax* this year by Mr. Dawkins are the result of the repeated use of the one *larnax*, inside which also several skulls were found.

skeleton, suggesting a careful and undisturbed post-interment; but not a direct interment, as the bones were not in their relative positions.

I may here note that although the shelves of rock against or under which the larnakes were found trended in different directions, these latter were longitudinally orientated north and south. To be quite exact

α was orientated 2° W. of N.
β „ „ 16° „
γ „ „ 26° „

Unfortunately the conditions of burial at Sarandári were not those of a true rock-shelter. At best these human remains were only sheltered from storms from one point of the compass, and were therefore exposed to considerable weathering influences, in addition to being crushed by the fall of soil. For this reason few data are to be obtained from them. Of the crania only one found in *larnax β* (Late Minoan III.) gave a reliable breadth index (75·9), which just escapes being dolicho-cephalic, whereas another from Kastri (Middle Minoan), whose measurements were not absolutely reliable, was distinctly dolicho-cephalic with an index of 71·8.

By the kindness of Miss H. A. Boyd, Dr. A. J. Evans, Professor Halbherr, and Mr. Xanthoudides, who allowed me to measure thirteen crania excavated by them and placed in the Candia Museum since Dr. Duckworth's visit to Crete, I am able to add slightly to the number mentioned above. Unfortunately again, several of these were too much crushed to be of use and three only, yielded satisfactory measurements and four more, rather uncertain results. Of the former, one from Sphoungaría rock-shelter near Gourniá gave an index of 80·3, and another of the same period (Late Minoan III.), from the tombs on the hillside near Knossos, yielded 80·5. The third, and from its age the most interesting, since it claims to be Early Minoan, is from Koumása and gives an index of 76·2. Of the four slightly uncertain in their measurements, one from Haghia Triadha (tholos tomb, Early Minoan II.) supplies us with an index of 77·3, and the other three from Sphoungaría 87·6, 79·0, and 77·0.

These discoveries are obviously too few to warrant any general conclusion. On the whole they do not contradict Dr. Duckworth's deductions made upon a much wider basis, that dolichocephaly was more the rule in Minoan times than it is to-day, but that even in those times brachycephalic forms

were present. From Palaikastro I accompanied Mr. Dawkins on his first excavation of the neolithic site near Magasá, and finally left on May 3rd to prosecute my anthropometrical observations on living subjects throughout the island. Each *eparkhia* was visited in turn except those of Kissamos and Selinon in the extreme west, and before I left the island on August 3rd more than 1400 individuals had been measured and examined.

CHARLES H. HAWES.

EXCAVATIONS AT PALAIKASTRO. IV.

(PLATES XV.–XVI. §§ 8–10.)

§ 8.—THE TEMPLE OF DICTAEAN ZEUS.

THE Temple Area, mentioned several times in these reports,[1] was cleared in the course of our third and fourth seasons. Of the temple itself not a stone was found standing and almost the whole of its materials had been removed, but from fragments of architectural details we may recover some notion of its proportions and decoration. Only one inscription came to light, but that—the Hymn to Dictaean Zeus—is of capital importance, not only as enabling us to identify the remains with those of the temple mentioned in the Praisos-Itanos frontier-award and to restore to Palaikastro its ancient name of Heleia (Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 929, l. 78), but as illustrating an obscure side of local religion and ritual. In the present paper I propose to give a brief provisional account of the scanty remains of the temple, and of the votive offerings found round about it, which will be more fully described and illustrated in the final Report on the Excavations. I have made free use of Mr. Dawkins' journal and other notes.

Unlike the Hellenic temples at Troy and Mycenae, the sanctuary of Dictaean Zeus was not placed on the highest point of the prehistoric town, nor on the site of the prehistoric palace, but on an artificially levelled platform half-way down the south-eastern slope near the termination of the main street. The *τέμενος* extended across the buried and forgotten roadway, embracing most of the area once occupied by π and χ, and was

[1] Located n 1902, trial-trenches with negative results, *B.S.A.* viii. 288. Cut through in following main street in 1903, finds of pottery and bronzes, *B.S.A.* ix. 280. Partly cleared in 1904, important finds, *B.S.A.* x. 246.

enclosed by a wall, of which a few courses survive and were traced by Mr. Dawkins for a distance of 36 metres. It was built of undressed stones, laid without mortar, and followed a tortuous line along the north and north-east face of the slope (see Plate X., **56**, **57**). It is mentioned in pompous terms by the Magnesian arbitrators—*τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον αὐτοῦ ἰδίοις σημείοις καὶ περιοικοδομήμασιν περιεχόμενον* (Dittenberger, 929, l. 75). Outside this wall on the lower ground but few Hellenic objects occurred, while on the other hand inside its line the Hellenic *stratum* reached its greatest depth, about one metre. Nothing Minoan was found at the level of the wall, which was surrounded by dark brown *humus* in sharp contrast to the bright red brick-earth of the Minoan houses below it. The Hellenic objects were scattered over the whole of χ and the greater part of π, but it was only along the inner face of the wall that they lay thick. No continuation of it could be found on the east except for a few yards where it crossed the main street, to the east of the projecting porch of the house χ **1–17**, and consisted of roughly dressed freestone blocks, probably taken from a Minoan house. Southwards it may be supposed to have crowned the steep escarpment which bounds the space occupied by the town, but neither here nor on the west was any certain trace of it identified.

Of the other late walls found near the surface of χ, and shewn on the plan little need be said. None of them can be connected with the temple, which seems to have been most effectually demolished by the villagers of Palaikastro about a generation ago. It is remembered that huge blocks of freestone were removed from this field, and a monolithic arched door-head cut from one of them is shewn in one of the cottages. The rectangular structure in χ **46**, built of large slabs and measuring internally 1·15 × ·90 × ·35 m., bears a close resemblance to the oil-tank in the Hellenistic house at Praisos;[1] a large piece of sheet-lead, perhaps part of its lining, was found not far off. Not only the foundations on which the slabs rest but the lower edges of the slabs themselves are sunk in the Minoan *stratum*, as though the structure dated from the beginning of the Hellenic period. But the gradation from Minoan to Hellenic had been obliterated by a process of levelling undertaken probably when the temple was built: in this case there was an abrupt transition from Late Minoan I. to products of the sixth century. The stratification had been further confused

[1] *B.S.A.* viii. p. 264.

by the recent search for building-materials, so that the shallow Hellenic surface-deposit made no direct contribution to the history of the sanctuary. Even the deep pocket at the east end of χ, which yielded the fragments of the Hymn and some other worked stones, was the result of recent disturbance.

In face of this complete destruction, which leaves even the precise position of the temple undetermined, it is satisfactory that the position of the Altar can be fixed. It was marked by a bed of grey wood-ash, at least 3 m. long and ·25 thick, which extended from χ **25–26** across the full width of the underlying main street into π **38–40**. Among the objects found immediately round about it were some bronze bowls and miniature shields and an archaic scarabaeoid seal.

§ 9.—THE ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS.

The Hellenic remains scattered in the surface soil or accumulated behind the temenos-wall included quantities of tiles and architectural terracottas belonging to an earlier and to a later period of the sanctuary. Of those which may be assigned to the archaic entablature the most important are the following:—

(1) Leg of a crouching or running human figure in high relief, probably from the pediment (Fig. 18). The upper part of the thigh is covered with reddish-brown paint representing a tightly-fitting garment, with a white border on which again are dark dots. The bare skin of the lower part of the leg is represented by a white slip, and the muscles are indicated by deep incisions. The foot is lost and its relation to the lower part of the background, which swells out towards the base, is obscure.

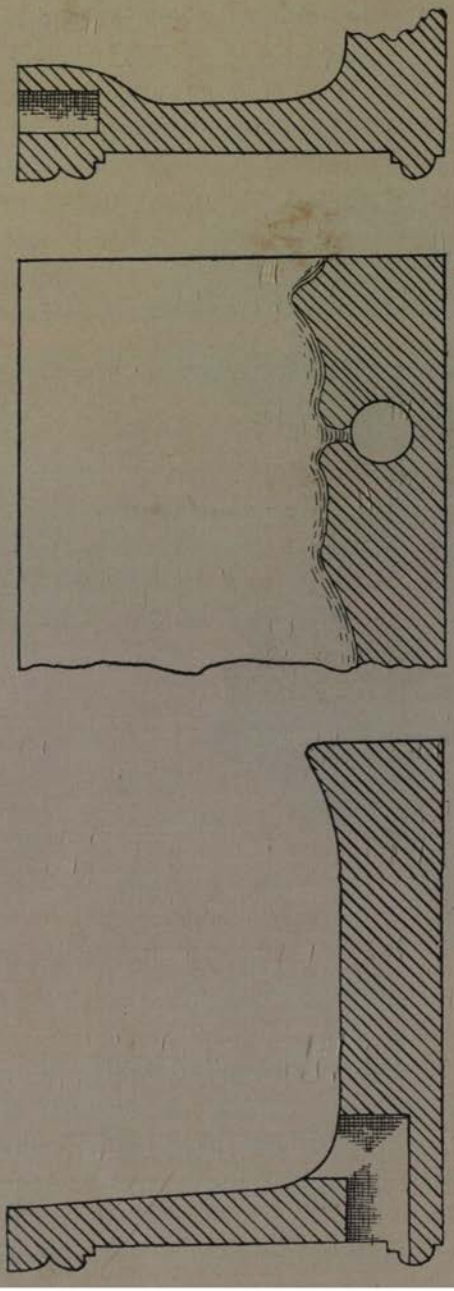
(2) Numerous pieces of a *sima*, decorated in low relief with a fine archaic chariot-group (Plate XV.). Two such cornice-blocks have long been exhibited in the Museum at Candia, having been saved by one of the peasants who helped to demolish the temple and used by him as mangers in his stable. There they were seen by a Candia merchant who reported the matter to the Syllogos, and were soon afterwards secured for the Museum by the exertions of Dr. Hatzidakes and Professor Halbherr. The latter gave a brief account of them in the *Antiquary*, 1892, p. 117, and Professor Savignoni has prepared a full discussion of them and their relation to architectural terracottas found elsewhere, which he has kindly consented to

publish in connexion with the report of our discoveries. Though less complete than the two pieces in the Museum, the new fragments have a much better preserved surface, exhibiting the original colouring and a variety of details which have been obliterated on the others. The group on each block consists of a chariot drawn by two horses which are extended at the gallop although their master in full armour is only on the point of

FIG. 18.—FRAGMENT, PERHAPS FROM THE PEDIMENT. (Scale 2 : 9.)

stepping into the car, the driver leaning forward with uplifted whip, a dog coursing underneath the horses, and a second hoplite advancing from behind. All the fragments save one seem to have been made in the same mould. The exception shows two hoplites following one another; as they are tilted at a slight angle to the margin of the background, it is probable that this was a special piece constructed to carry the design over the apex

of the pediment. It appears that the same cornice was used on the gables and along the sides of the temple, the pieces intended for the sides having a round opening to let out the rain-water immediately under the body of the hound. Fig. 19 *a* is a cross-section shewing the relation of the circular orifice to the trough at the back of the sima on which the lowest row of roof tiles rested. In most archaic cornices the drainage-opening has the form of a projecting tube; the absence of any provision for throwing the water out from the face of the building, stamps the example before us as primitive and unpractical. The inner side is shewn in longitudinal section in 19 *b*, drawn from a fragment which has the trough-bed broken away; the line of the break to the right of the orifice suggests that the bed of the trough rose towards the end into a cross-ridge, which would keep water from the joint. Fig. 19 *c* shews a fragment in which the upper member has been thickened so as to afford room for a dowel-hole; this can only have served for the attachment of an acroterion, possibly of one of the eagles described below.



c.

b.

a.

FIG. 19.—SECTIONS THROUGH THE TERRACOTTA SIMA. (About 1 : 6.)

The chariot-group is reproduced in Plate XV. from a careful pencil-drawing by Mr. Frank Orr, to whom I am also indebted for the following Plate, and for the other drawings by which this paper is illustrated. In almost every case, the design has had to be recovered by the patient study and comparison of fragments, and Mr. Orr, who came to the work without previous experience of archæological drawing, has carried it out under my supervision with remarkable dexterity and success.

(3) Antefixes in the form of a head of Medusa, from which spring six snakes (Fig. 20). The grinning mouth is furnished with large tusks and the tongue is cloven. There are traces of colour.

FIG. 20.—ANTEFIX FROM PALAIKASTRO. (1 : 5.)

(4) Fragment of a king-tile-antefix, showing the same border of snakes against a terracotta background with a serrated edge.

(5) Two pieces of large terracotta birds (eagles?) which may have formed the acroteria at the angles of the temple. The one fragment preserves the claws and part of the body, attached to a solid square support with perforation for a large dowel, the other gives part of the tail and sides, just overlapping the other enough to prove that it belonged to a similar figure.

The architectural terracottas of developed style are represented by a far smaller number of fragments than the archaic series. They consist of:—(6) A somewhat deeper sima with conventional palmette and lotus pattern, the rain-water openings being of the usual lion's-head type.

(7) An equally conventional palmette-shaped antefix. (Fig. 21.)

(8) An antefix intermediate in style between the two groups, representing a softened version of Medusa, a woman in a Doric chiton holding a snake in either hand, while two others spring from her shoulders (Fig. 22)

I have been helped in the reconstruction of these three types by the fortunate circumstance that fragments of a sima and of antefixes almost identical in design were found in my excavations on the Altar-hill at Praesos in 1901 and 1904. Of the older series only the Medusa antefix (Fig. 20) was represented, and that by a single fragment, at Praesos.

FIG. 21.—ANTEFIX FROM PRAESOS, OF A TYPE REPRESENTED BY FRAGMENTS AT PALAIKASTRO. (1 : 4.)

The later type of Medusa is represented by fragments from both sites. Now that the face with the protruded tongue has been recovered, it is impossible to maintain the view propounded in *B.S.A.* x. 223 that the personage holding the snakes is the Mother-goddess. But, as I hope to show in a later paper, it is highly probable that the temple on the Altar-hill was the temple of Dictaean Zeus mentioned by Strabo as situated at

Praesos,[1] and the figures of lions prominent among the votive offerings there may well be indications that the worship of the mother was maintained beside that of her son.

FIG. 22.—ANTEFIX RESTORED FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND AT PRAESOS AND PALAIKASTRO. (1 : 4.)

§ 10.—THE POTTERY AND THE BRONZES.

The votive offerings, though much scattered and broken are numerous and homogeneous enough to furnish interesting information. The bulk of them belong to the archaic period and testify to the popularity and prosperity of the Dictaean sanctuary from the seventh to the fifth century. The scarcity of later objects is in harmony with the scarcity of architectural remains of the later temple. It is clear that the terracotta decorations and votive offerings of the earlier period must have been buried at the time of rebuilding, while those of the later period have only survived by exception. Among these earlier *anathemata* bronze shields both large and small and bronze tripods and bowls predominate precisely as they did in the cave of Zeus excavated by Prof. Halbherr and Dr. Hatzidakes on Mount Ida. This analogy is particularly close in the case of the magnificent chased shields attributed by the authors of the great

[1] Strabo 475, quoting Staphylus, τὸ νότιον (κατέχειν) Ἐτεόκρητας, ὧν εἶναι πολίχνιον Πρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν. Cf. 478, where the temple is again connected with Praesos.

book on the Idaean cave to Phoenician influence. It is plain not only that the sanctuaries flourished at the same period, but that the worshippers of Idaean and Dictaean Zeus, though Dorians in the one case and Eteocretans in the other, shared a common civilization which reflected itself in some community of religious usage.

The objects of bronze may be classified as follows:—

1. *Shields*, decorated with zones of animals. The most important, ·49 in diameter, had as an ὀμφαλός the head and forepart of a lion in high relief (Plate XVI.). His outstretched forepaws are planted on the shoulders of two winged sphinxes which crouch before him face to face. The other half of the circular field is occupied by a pair of lions similarly opposed. Among the bronze shields found in the Cave of Zeus on Mount Ida there are two with the same general scheme of a lion triumphant over subject sphinxes,[1] and one in which the central figure is a bird, probably an eagle. The Palaikastro shield excels them both in composition and in execution. The group of two rampant lions guarding the sacred tree, curiously reminiscent of far older Minoan designs, is a masterly and spirited piece of work, for which the Idæan Cave affords no close parallel. Of the lion's head we have only a small piece, not shewn in the drawing, and it is possible that this belonged to a different shield, since it lacks the fineness of detail which distinguishes the whole composition.

Three other shields, more or less fragmentary, were decorated with narrow zones of animals between bands of guilloche.

(*a*) Diam. about ·35. Inner zone, couchant fawns; once in the series a griffin. Outer zone, fawns grazing; once the armless bust of a woman *en face*.

(*b*) Diam. about ·28. Zone of stags.

(*c*) Diam. about ·33. Zone of lions, with chequerwork on their bodies.

2. *Miniature armour.*—Twelve shields, from ·21 to ·06 in diameter, mostly with two holes in the rim for suspension. Only one model of a cuirass, and one of a helmet, and no loin-guard—whereas the Altar-hill at Praisos yielded 20 shields, 11 cuirasses, 6 helmets, and 10 loin-guards (*B.S.A.* viii. p. 258).

3. *Tripods.*—Parts of about fourteen examples, of which six or seven were upwards of ·60 high. The remainder smaller.

[1] Halbherr and Orsi, *Antro di Zeus Ideo*, Tav. ii. and iii.

A small figure of a couchant lion probably adorned the rim of a tripod-bowl.

4. *Bowls.*—Eight, chiefly hemispherical, the largest ·135 in diameter.

5. *Fragments*, chiefly handles, of other vessels, including a cup, a jug, and several large and heavy cauldrons.

6. *Small figures of oxen.*—Two found in the excavation and many previously by a peasant in a field to the S.W. A similar ox was found on the First Acropolis at Praesos.

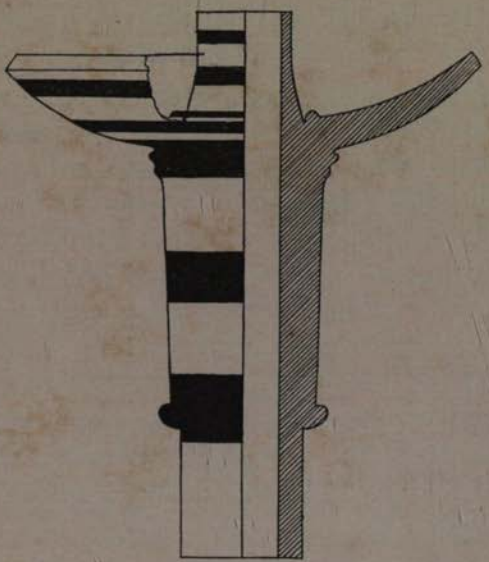


FIG. 23.—TORCH-HOLDER. (1 : 3.)

7. *A four-spoked wheel*, ·06 in diam., possibly from a wheeled λέβης.[1]

8. *Bits of metal in bars* (3 square, one round in section) and a strip of rough casting, all pointing to the working of bronze on the spot.

9. Numerous *nails*, three of them ·15 long. These may have been used in the timbers of the temple roof.

The offerings of pottery were neither numerous nor important with the exception of two groups, *Lamps* of which about forty were found, and *Torch-holders* of which there are about a dozen specimens (Fig. 23). The absence of the terracotta figurines and plaques that were found in

[1] Cf. Karo in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, viii. 63 ff.

such quantities at Praesos—only one such was found and that, an archaic draped female figurine, outside the temenos—is much more remarkable than the relative scarcity of vases and vase fragments. The whole vases, only about thirty in number, are chiefly large cups or bowls. Painted geometric ware is represented only by a single cup, and by fragments of large jars, but some of the plain cups are certainly very ancient, particularly a group of seven found in the line of the main street, and adjoining the great heap of wood ashes to which I have referred as indicating the position of the altar. A dozen cups and bowls of later and superior fabric occurred together in χ' **46**. Apart from these two deposits there was no great accumulation of broken pottery such as is found in the neighbourhood of most Hellenic temples. The same scarcity of votive pottery was noticed in the Idaean cave and on the Altar-hill at Praesos.

The lamps are of the early Hellenic type with horizontal handle; a large proportion of them was found in juxtaposition with the tiles and terracottas of the archaic temple. The torch-holders, of a form which had survived from the Bronze Age, are decorated with bands of black glaze paint on a pale yellow slip, and may be assigned with confidence to the sixth or fifth century. Their presence here in such numbers accords perfectly with what has been gleaned from other sources, and particularly from a well-known fragment of the *Cretans* of Euripides, admirably elucidated in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, about the worship of the Cretan god, half Zeus, half Dionysus, whose mysteries were celebrated at night by torch-bearing Βάκχοι.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of Subscribers to the BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 24th, 1905, the RIGHT REV. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, D.D., Bishop of Bristol, in the Chair. The following Report on the Session 1904–1905 was submitted by the Secretary (Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE) on behalf of the Managing Committee :—

During the Session of 1904–5 the Penrose Memorial Library has been opened during the Archaeological Congress in Athens, the excavations at Palaikastro have been brought to a close, and progress has been made with the survey of Laconia.

Congress at Athens. Opening of the New Library.—The Archaeological Congress which met at Athens in April deserves a prominent place in this report, since it illustrated on a large scale that international cooperation in teaching and research which our School and the other foreign Institutes in Athens have done much to foster. The Schools took an active part in the promotion and organisation of the Congress; and this was the more natural since many of the archaeologists whom it brought together were 'Old Athenians.' There could have been no fitter occasion for the inauguration of the new Library built in memory of Francis Penrose on April 8th. In the presence of Their Majesties the King and Queen of the Hellenes, the Crown Princess and other members of the Royal Family of Greece, and a large gathering of eminent scholars, the opening ceremony was performed by H.R.H. the Crown Prince, as President of the Congress.

Visit of H.M. the Queen.—H.M. Queen Alexandra arrived in Athens on May 2nd. Two days later, on May 4th, accompanied by the King and Queen of the Hellenes and by Prince and Princess Charles of Denmark, Her Majesty honoured the School with a visit. They were received by the Director and the Acting-Librarian, Mr. Tillyard. The Queen inspected the Penrose Memorial Library and admired its design and decoration. She also asked questions about the recent work of the School and expressed her interest in and good wishes for its

prosperity. Before her departure she further honoured us by the gift of her portrait, a companion engraving to the picture of the King so graciously presented by His Majesty earlier in the year.

Conclusion of the Work at Palaikastro.—The fourth campaign at Palaikastro lasted from March 28 to June 18. The Congress and the Laconian excavations detained the Director in Greece, and the work in Crete was directed by Mr. R. McG. Dawkins, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who had spent two previous seasons on the site. The prevailing disorders in the island caused some inconvenience. On one occasion a party of malcontent workmen armed with rifles tried to terrorise the rest into striking for higher wages. Helped by the loyalty of the men from the mountain villages, who are also our best workers, Mr. Dawkins was able to keep his people in hand, and later, during the siege and countersiege of the neighbouring monastery of Toplu, the work proceeded quietly.

The centre of this year's work was the temple area which in 1904 yielded the Hymn to the infant Zeus and other remains of a Hellenic sanctuary, on the eastern margin of the prehistoric town. In this region there proved to be unexpected depth of soil and very complete stratification, all periods from the Classical Greek back to the "Early Minoan" being represented. Of the temple itself, which was probably of wood, little remains, but its terra-cotta decoration has been recovered, including cornices and antefixes of two periods, archaic and Hellenistic. The enclosing wall of the *temenos* has been traced and near it have been found quantities of offerings, vases and lamps, bronze shields, and also a bronze lion, which like the terra-cotta lions of the Altar-hill at Praesos may point to the survival of the old cult of Rhea beside that of her son, Zeus. The Bronze Age buildings underlying the temple proved to be especially rich in objects of the fine "Palace style", which is known to have flourished in Crete during the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. These included painted jars with marine and floral designs, a hoard of thirty-six elaborately carved stone vases, and four ivory plaques engraved with lilies and other figures. Neither here nor in the poorer *strata* intervening between this and the Hellenic level was there any definite evidence of religious use. But in a slightly older *stratum* Mr. Dawkins came upon a quantity of bones of oxen which seemed to mark the position of an early place of sacrifice. Thus the lonely Hellenic temple, which stood a thousand years later on the ruins of the prehistoric town, occupied, whether by chance or by some direct religious survival, a site of immemorial sanctity. There were terra-cotta models of bulls' heads and a great mass of painted pottery of the beautiful transitional style which Mr. Evans calls "Late Minoan I."—a most valuable find, for hitherto this period was not well represented at Palaikastro. So too with the lower *strata*; until this year we had plenty of "Middle Minoan" forms and designs but very little "Early Minoan" material: this want too has now been supplied. Deep deposits under the temple area have furnished a quantity both of an older plain ware with dappled black and red surface, and of the black ware with geometrical patterns in white which during

the Third Millennium B.C. gradually developed into the polychrome Kamáres style.

With these "Early Minoan" remains the stratification ends: no regular Neolithic deposit has been found at Palaikastro, though stone axes are not uncommon in the district. But Mr. Dawkins has made a brilliant little discovery which goes far to fill this gap. He traced some of these axes brought to him by a peasant back to their finding-place, a cornfield in a depression of the high bare limestone plateau which rises behind the plain of Palaikastro. Excavation disclosed not only primitive pottery, bone needles, broken celts, and chips of obsidian lying thickest under a rock-shelter at one end of the plot, but the walls of an L-shaped two-roomed house, unmistakably of the same age, since within it were found twenty stone axes, more than half of them in excellent condition. This discovery gives us, for the first time in the Aegean, a definite idea of a Neolithic homestead.

In other directions Mr. Dawkins and his helpers, Messrs. Charles Hawes, Kirkwood, and Dickins, have made important progress. The main street of the prehistoric town has now been cleared for a total distance of more than 350 yards, and some of the side streets were further explored. Outside the town several small cemeteries were discovered, and Mr. Hawes, the anthropologist of the expedition, measured some skulls from "Late Minoan" earthenware coffins, obtaining *data* for comparison with the "Middle Minoan" skulls measured here in 1903 by Mr. Duckworth.

The results of this season supplement and complete those of previous years in a most satisfactory way. For the present further excavation would add little to our knowledge, and it is better that here, as at Troy and Phylakopi, part of the ground should be spared until researches elsewhere increase our comprehension of the evidence. But if we leave this pleasant and productive site, it is with regret. Perhaps nowhere in the Greek world have more or more beautiful objects been recovered from the earth at so trifling a cost—a result due in part to the self-denial of the students helping in the work, who during the four campaigns have given their services and paid their own expenses, in part to favourable local conditions, low wages and shallow soil. The cost of the season's work has been only £360, of which the Cretan Fund has contributed £200, the School £100, and Emmanuel College £60.

The Exploration of Laconia.—The first site examined in Laconia was that of **Thalamai** on the west coast, famous in antiquity for its oracular shrine of the Goddess Ino—the sacred spring mentioned by Pausanias is almost certainly identical with one outside the village of Koutiphari, the water of which wells up within a vaulted chamber of recent date and then flows out across a sunken court which is still in part enclosed by a wall of fine Hellenic masonry. Our trial trenches showed many traces of ancient occupation round the spring, which is still reckoned the best in all the narrow strip of Northern Maina which extends between the Taygetus range and the sea up to Kalamata. But the whole neighbourhood

must have been ransacked for stone again and again in the Middle Ages, when there was a considerable population here. The countryside is studded with little Byzantine churches, often built of ancient blocks; Mr. Dickins discovered and photographed some very interesting sculptured marble capitals and screens, some of them exhibiting Western characteristics, due perhaps to the Frankish occupation. A few inscriptions were gleaned—one, an archaic dedication to Asclepius, gives a new form of his name—but no new light was thrown on the cult of the local goddess.

At **Geronthrae**, the modern Geraki, a thriving place on the Eastern margin of the Eurotas basin, Mr. Hasluck, Fellow of King's, and Mr. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, did some experimental work on the ancient Acropolis. There, as at Thalamai, the Hellenic remains have been used as a quarry by Frankish and later builders, and there is nothing to justify a large excavation. An interesting settlement of the early Bronze Age was located, a grave containing geometric pottery of a quite new type was opened, and some inscriptions found. Moreover, arrangements were made for the publication of a remarkable series of archaic marble sculptures, work of a local school in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., which have been collected by the enlightened mayor of Geraki.

A little digging was done at **Angelona**, near Monemvasia, as a result of a discovery made by Mr. Hasluck on an exploring journey. A farmer in clearing ground for cultivation had turned up a marble relief and other objects which suggested that there had been some sort of shrine on the spot. The clue was promptly followed up, with the result that practically the whole equipment of a local *heroön* has been brought to light. There is a fragment of the cultus-image of the hero, and the relief already mentioned, which is a little masterpiece of fifth-century art, shewing the hero or perhaps a worshipper standing before an altar; there is a terra-cotta plaque on which he is seen enthroned, and before him an attendant holding a drinking-cup; there is the hero's snake in bronze, some minor terra-cotta plaques and figurines, and a quantity of miniature drinking-cups of the kind that is so often represented in the hands of the hero on the Spartan reliefs. The whole find, by the wise decision of Dr. Cavvadias, is to be exhibited together in the Museum of Sparta, where it will furnish a most suggestive illustration of the large class of local sculptured slabs representing the deceased ancestor enthroned and attended by a snake. The Catalogue of the Museum by Mr. Tod and Mr. Wace is now nearly ready for publication; so this discovery has come at a most opportune moment.

To complete the record of this year's work in Laconia mention must be made of a series of plans of fortresses begun by an Austrian surveyor, Mr. Sejk, under Mr. Hasluck's supervision. Those of **Zarax** and **Epidaurus Limera** have now been completed.

The Director.—Much of the Director's time was devoted to the completion of the new buildings. During the past Session the new Library, an office for Director and Librarian, a ladies' room, and two new rooms for students have been

equipped and brought into use. The more important sculptured marbles of the Finlay collection have been set up in the entrance-hall of the Hostel, and new oak furniture for it constructed from designs by Mr. Comyn and Mr. Doll. The electric light has been installed in every room and other small improvements carried out. The garden of the Hostel has been extended by the construction of a terrace leading to the side-entrance of the Library and retaining-walls built on the north, water for it being provided by enlarging the cistern in the upper garden.

During most of January and February Mr. Bosanquet's services were lost to the School owing to an attack of typhoid. He had previously given a course of lectures, partly in the Library and partly in the Museum, on Greek Vases. After his return to his post he superintended the transfer and arrangement of the Library. He resumed his place, temporarily filled by Mr. Tod, on the Organising Committee of the Congress, and was one of the speakers at the inaugural ceremony on the Acropolis. Immediately after the Congress he went to Laconia and started the excavations at Thalamai, returning to Athens for the Queen's visit at the beginning of May. He then returned to Maina and upon the close of the excavations visited Sparta for the purpose of revising parts of the Catalogue, and proceeded thence to Geronthrae to advise Mr. Hasluck and Mr. Wace as to the excavations there. He returned to Athens overland by way of Caryae, the monastery of Loukon and Mycenae, where he obtained photographs and drawings for use in the re-erection of the columns now in the British Museum.

The Assistant Director.—Mr. Tod arrived at Athens in October, and left early in March. During the first half of the Session he superintended both the Hostel and the Library, but found time to visit the sites of Caryae and Thalamae (in connexion with the Laconian survey) and parts of Messenia during the winter, collecting further epigraphical materials. He also travelled in Boeotia during the early spring. Mr. Tod left Athens earlier than usual in order to take up his work at Oriel at the beginning of the summer term. He has been for two years Assistant Director, and the Managing Committee and the Director desire to place on record their sense of the debt they owe him for the care and discretion he has shewn in his share of the management of the School, and the good counsel and kindness he has placed at the disposal of the students.

The Students.—Mr. R. McG. Dawkins, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, reached Athens in November, having spent some time on his way collating MSS. of Theocritus in Italian libraries and travelling in Epirus. During the winter he worked in the Candia museum on the Palaikastro finds, and travelled in Egypt and Syria. He returned to Greece in March, and after a week in Skyros, conducted till June with ability and success the excavation at Palaikastro, the results of which are summarised above. During the summer he has continued his study of the dialects spoken in the Greek islands and has also visited Mount Athos.

Mr. Guy Dickins, B.A., of New College, Oxford, and Craven Fellow, arriving

in January, excavated in the spring with the Director at Thalamae, Laconia, and later assisted Mr. Dawkins at Palaikastro. He has also begun a study of the important sculptures by Damophon found at Lycosura, and with the approval of their discoverer, Dr. Cavvadias, is attempting a reconstruction of the group, which he hopes to complete next session.

Mr. C. C. T. Doll, B.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, was admitted to the School for the study of Greek Architecture. He arrived at Athens early in November, and made measured drawings of the west front and other parts of the Erechtheum, including many full-sized details, and a plan of the Propylaea: he also gave efficient help in the decoration of the Memorial Library and the improvements in the Hostel Garden. During the spring he visited the most important Greek sites, and rendered signal service to Dr. Evans by undertaking at short notice the restoration of part of the palace at Knossos which had succumbed to the weather.

Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, came out with a grant from the School in March, to assist in the Laconian scheme. In Athens he familiarised himself with the working of the Library of the School to which the Committee have recently appointed him Librarian for the Session 1905-6. After some preliminary work in the south-east of Laconia he with Mr. Wace conducted the excavations at Geraki and Angelona, and superintended the execution of Mr. Seyk's plans of Zarax and Epidaurus Limera. He also made a journey to Broussa in Bithynia, in the neighbourhood of which he discovered an interesting Byzantine church.

Mr. C. H. Hawes, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, spent four months (April—August) continuing the craniometrical researches begun by Dr. Duckworth in Crete. His work was rendered difficult by the unsettled state of the island, but he has greatly increased the material available for study, having measured in all 1440 persons of all classes and from all parts of the island including Sphakia. He also undertook a successful excavation of a cemetery near Palaikastro.

Mr. W. A. Kirkwood, M.A., of University College, Toronto, spent seven months in Greece, making the school his headquarters. He assisted for a short time in the Palaikastro excavations, but devoted most of the session to a more general study of archaeology and historical geography with a view to giving actuality to his teaching. Having already experience of Asia Minor he travelled this year in North Greece, Peloponnese, and Crete; after leaving Athens he was attached to the Roman School and spent two months in Italy. The Managing Committee consider that the stimulation of interest in classical archaeology in the more distant parts of the empire, effected by such visitors as Mr. Currelly and Mr. Kirkwood, is an eminently satisfactory feature of the School's work.

Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, B.A., of Caius College, Cambridge, came out in November with a grant from the School, as assistant to the Librarian. He devoted himself to the study of Epigraphy, and has written a dissertation on inscriptions relating to boundaries: he also mastered the elements of Byzantine music. His appointment to the office of Librarian after Mr. Tod's departure somewhat restricted

his travelling, but he took advantage of opportunities to visit some of the chief Greek sites.

Miss G. M. A. Richter, of Girton College, Cambridge, spent the full session in Greek Lands. She worked during the winter months on a special subject—'The Forms of Attic vases in relation to their geographical distribution'—and later undertook a long and adventurous journey in Greece, the Islands, and Asia Minor.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, arrived in Athens early in March, after completing the session in Rome as a student of the Roman School. In connexion with the Laconian Survey, he worked at the Museum in Sparta, travelled in east-central Laconia, and excavated with Mr. Hasluck at Geronthrae and Angelona. A tour of exploration in the neighbourhood of Volo included Demetrias, Dimini, and other sites, and the little-known islands of Skiathos and Skopelos. In the course of this journey he discovered the ruins of a hitherto unknown Doric temple at Cape Sefias. Mr. Wace's season concluded with a journey to Delos and Pergamon, for the study of Hellenistic house decoration, and to Constantinople, whence he returned by Athens to England.

Publications.—The School is again indebted to Mr. Cecil Smith for his kindness in supervising the edition of the *Annual*, the tenth volume of which appeared in July. A special publication of much interest has during the year been undertaken by members of the School. The publication of the catalogue of the inscriptions and sculptures in the local Museum at Sparta seemed a natural and useful part of the systematic study which is being given to the whole district of Laconia. Mr. Tod has undertaken the inscriptions and Mr. Wace the sculptures. The work is now far advanced and the *Catalogue of the Sculptures and Inscriptions in the Museum at Sparta* will, it is hoped, be issued during the current year. The Managing Committee desire to express their indebtedness to the Clarendon Press, which has generously undertaken the publication, the cost of the illustrations only being defrayed by the School.

Open Meetings.—At the three open meetings of the Session the following communications were made :—

Friday, Dec. 16.—	The Director :	Recent Work of the School.
„ „	Mr. M. N. Tod :	A Journey in South-Western Messenia.
Friday, March 3.—	Mr. R. M. Dawkins :	Ritual Objects found at Palaikastro.
„ „	Mr. M. N. Tod :	Teams of Ball-players at Sparta.
Friday, April 7.—	(Joint meeting of British and American Schools.)	
„ „	Mr. Louis Dyer :	Early Relations of Arcadia and Elis.
„ „	Mr. A. J. B. Wace :	The Dioscuri at Sparta.

The Library.—A full report appeared in the tenth volume of the *Annual* of the ceremonies attending the opening of the Penrose Memorial Library. The books formerly in the Director's house have now been housed in the new Penrose building : though not finally arranged, the library is in working order, and the many

conveniences of the building, especially its easy access from the Hostel, have been much appreciated by students. The portion adjoining the Hostel and containing the entrances from the latter and from the garden has been allotted to periodicals: its central feature is the fireplace over which is the memorial inscription to Mr. Penrose on a slab of Pentelic marble framed in variegated marble from Skyros. Ranges of oak shelves extend completely round the main body of the building, light being obtained from windows above them: this has the advantage of rendering the room cool in the hotter months. Reference has been made above to the Royal gift of pictures: the Library is also indebted to the courtesy of the Committee of Leighton House for facilities given for the reproduction of a portrait of the late Lord Leighton.

The accessions during the session amount to 201 volumes, pamphlets, and maps; 456 books have been borrowed, and the Library has been freely used by students of the School and accredited visitors. Several valuable gifts have been received during the past year, generous donations having been made by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, and the Pitt Press, Cambridge, to signalise the opening of the new Library. Mrs. S. Arthur Strong presented the catalogue of the Burlington Exhibition of Greek Art. The thanks of the School are also due to the following for gifts of books or pamphlets: C. André, K. Baedeker, D. N. Bernardakes, R. C. Bosanquet, L. Brouskos, A. Choisy, A. M. Daniel, P. Ducati, C. C. Edgar, E. Forster, P. Gardner, F. W. Hasluck, D. G. Hogarth, F. Hovenden, K. Kleronomos, N. K. Ch. Kostes, A. Kourouniotes, P. Lampros, G. A. Macmillan, A. van Millingen, G. Mistriotes, J. A. R. Munro, J. L. Myres, D. Philios, I. Th. Sakellarides, M. N. Tod, J. L. de Vasconcello, C. Waldstein, Th. Wiegand, K. Zekos.

Books have also been received from the following public bodies:—The Boston Museum, the British Museum, the Christian Archaeological Society, the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Greek Archaeological Society, the Committee of the Conference on Education in Greece, the Greek Philological Society, the Greek National Library, the Greek Red Cross Society, and the Indian Government.

Acknowledgments.—The Committee has again to express its gratitude to Sir Francis Elliot, K.C.M.G., H.M.'s Minister at Athens, for his constant friendly support; to the Minister of Education and the Ephor-General of Antiquities, who have given Mr. Bosanquet and his fellow workers the fullest possible rights of excavation and exploration in the province of Laconia, and to the Prefects and other local authorities at Sparta and Gytheion; to Prince George's Government and to Dr. Hatzidakes for similar privileges in Eastern Crete; to the Greek Minister of War, who lent the services of the Artillery band for a garden-party at the British and American Schools on the occasion of the Congress; to M. Holleaux and the members of the French School for their hospitality to Mr. Wace in Delos; and to the heads of the other archaeological schools. By Dr. Wilhelm's promotion to an important chair in the University of Vienna we lose a learned and experienced colleague, and a neighbour with whom our relations have long been close and

cordial; we have also to congratulate Dr. Hans Schrader, second Secretary of the German Institute, who has accepted a professorship at Innsbruck.

The Managing Committee have recently passed a vote of sincere condolence with the family of the late Dr. Monro, Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and for long a member of their body. His painstaking help will be greatly missed and they feel sure that all friends of the School would wish to be associated in their tribute to his memory.

They have also recently recorded their deep sympathy with the American School in Athens in the loss they have sustained by the sudden death of the Director, Dr. Heermance. He had held the Directorship for two years and was engaged with an architect, Mr. Stevens, in the preparation of a work on the Erechtheum which would have won for him an honourable place among writers on Greek architecture.

Finance.—The Committee have had a somewhat anxious problem in the heavy expenses connected with the completion and furnishing of the new Penrose Memorial Library. It will be seen by the accounts that this involved a charge upon the year's finances of no less than £508 11*s.* 11*d.*, in addition to £200 devoted to the same purpose last year. This was more than was originally contemplated, and at one time it seemed that it would be necessary to sell out some part of the small investment belonging to the School. Ultimately however this disagreeable expedient was avoided, and the Committee have the satisfaction of finding themselves in a position to provide the needed funds out of current account. Various causes contributed to this result. The new number of the *Annual* was considerably smaller than its predecessor, and cost only £270 against £344, while the sales were larger, producing £120 against £74. The net cost of the *Annual* was thus reduced from £280 to £150. The offer of a studentship of £100 to the University of Oxford lapsed, owing to the inability of Mr. Caspari to accept the appointment at a date when it was too late to find another student. It was found possible, by utilising the services of Mr. Sejk, to save the cost of sending out an architectural student for the excavations, and the voluntary services of Mr. Doll provided in other respects for work previously done by the School architect. And finally, two quite unexpected donations of £50 each from Mrs. Barbour and the Hon. J. Abercromby were received at a moment when they materially relieved the anxieties of the Committee.

The net result of these various pieces of good fortune is that the Revenue Account shews a surplus of £345. On a fair comparison with last year this would in fact be £470, as five quarters of the Director's stipend have been paid within the year, and the new financial year is thus started without the liability of £125 which had accrued at this time twelve months since. When we take credit for

this, the actual charge on the School funds due to the completion of the Library has been only about £38; and after taking the cost of books for the Library (less the general donations received) into account, we end the year about £112 poorer in cash, but possessed of a new Library which has cost over £1400 to build and equip. For this satisfactory result the best thanks of the Committee are due to the donors to the Penrose Memorial Fund. A copy of the accounts of the Fund is issued with this report, but it will, of course, be understood that the Fund was under separate, though allied, management, and that this Committee is not directly responsible for them.

We have finally to point out that the Annual Subscriptions, the backbone of our finance, shew an increase from £900 to £917. It would be a matter of great satisfaction if this amount could be raised during the coming year to a round £1000. An effort for this purpose will be all the more needed because the School has to regret the loss quite recently of several of its oldest and most faithful supporters; we need only mention the death of Dr. Monro, to which special reference has been made above, and of Lord Morley, Lord Lingen, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Mr. C. B. P. Bosanquet, and within the last few days, of Mr. J. E. Taylor and Mr. Godfrey Wedgwood.

The CHAIRMAN, in moving the adoption of the Report, dwelt on the fitness of the application of British research to the civilisation to which Britain was, in its language and its general culture, peculiarly indebted. The testing and vivifying to which our knowledge of the past had been subjected by such work as had been carried on by the British School at Athens was one of the happiest results of present day study. Apart from the addition to knowledge made by its researches, the School was also a School in the finest sense of the word as a training ground in which the powers of observation and independence of thought were strengthened and opportunities given for the exercise of self-reliance and courage where difficulties arose.

Sir JOHN EVANS seconded the adoption of the Report, which was carried unanimously.

The DIRECTOR then gave an account of the year's work, in which he laid stress on the multiplicity of interests followed by the School staff as a whole, and shewed slides illustrating the researches of the different students.

Mr. HUGH SEEBOHM moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. G. F. HILL and carried unanimously:—

"That Mr. REGINALD BLOMFIELD, Mr. R. J. G. MAYOR, Mr. J. L. MYRES, and PROF. REID, retiring from the Committee and being eligible for re-election, be re-elected on the Committee.

"That Mr. W. LORING, sometime Hon. Secretary of the School, be

elected to the vacancy on the Committee caused by the nomination of Prof. PERCY GARDNER to represent the University of Oxford in place of the late Dr. MONRO.

"That Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE be re-elected Secretary."

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, moved by Dr. SANDYS and seconded by Mr. M. N. TOD, sometime Assistant-Director of the School, was carried unanimously.

A unanimous vote of thanks to the Chair, moved by Prof. PERCY GARDNER and seconded by Mr. GEORGE MACMILLAN, Chairman of the Managing Committee, brought the proceedings to a close.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1904–1905.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE AND EXCAVATIONS,

5TH OCTOBER, 1904, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1905.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received or due during the year	917	7	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Interest on Investment to 5th July	57	0	0
Interest on Deposit to 30th June	5	16	1
Sale of Annual	120	11	10
Special Donations for Excavations: Crete	300	0	0
Do. Do. Do. Laconia	50	0	0
Return of Income Tax (3 years)	10	0	0
	£1,960	14	11

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1905				70	9	0
Hostel Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1905	111	2	10			
Less Students' Fees	78	19	4			
				32	3	6
Director's Stipend, 5 quarters to Michaelmas 1905				625	0	0
Publication of Annual				270	0	1
Printing, Postage, and Stationery				24	4	3
Secretary's Salary, year to Midsummer 1905				40	0	0
Sundries				12	18	6
Studentship, Mr. Tillyard				50	0	0
Excavations: Crete				337	7	0
Do. Laconia				133	5	9
Do. Sundry expenses				19	12	6
Balance, being excess of Receipts over Expenditure				345	14	4
				£1,960	14	11

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT,

5TH OCTOBER, 1904, TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1905.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, as per list	54	14	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	582	15	11
	£637	9	11

	£	s.	d.
Library	128	18	0
Penrose Memorial Fund	508	11	11
	£637	9	11

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE FUND.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance from last Account . .	53	16	8	Balance carried forward . . .	53	16	8

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1905.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Byzantine Architecture Fund as per Account above				53	16	8
Subscriptions paid in advance . .				5	3	0
Balance, representing the funds of the School other than the property in land and building, furniture and library, as per last account .	2,679	2	5			
Balance of Receipts and Expenditure on Revenue Account for the year as above . .	345	14	4			
	3,024	16	9			
Less Capital as above	582	15	11			
				2,442	0	10
				£2,501	0	6

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investment—India 3% Stock, at par .				2,000	0	0
Deposit Account at Bank . .				400	0	0
Cash at Bank, as Pass Book	115	3	7			
Less Cheques not presented . . .	14	3	1			
				101	0	6
				£2,501	0	6

Examined and found correct.

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

16*th October*, 1905.

DONATIONS—1904-1905.

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, the Hon. J.	10	0	0
Bernays, A. E.	10	0	0
Carrington, J. B.	2	2	0
Darbishire, R. D.	5	0	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	10	0	0
Finlay, Sir R. B.	10	10	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Taylor, J. E.	5	0	0
	£54	14	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS.

For Crete—Cretan Exploration Fund	200	0	0
Emmanuel Coll., Cambridge, Grant to Mr. Dawkins	60	0	0
Abercromby, the Hon. J.	40	0	0
	£300	0	0
*For Laconia—Mrs. Barbour	50	0	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1904-1905.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	10	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
McGill University, Montreal	5	5	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Agnew, Sir W.	2	2	0
Aitchison, G.	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof.	1	1	0
Alma Tadema, Sir L.	2	2	0
Anderson, J. R.	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, R. A.	1	1	0
Awdry, H.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bodington, Dr. N.	1	0	0
Bosanquet, C. B. P.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, R. C.	1	1	0
Boyle, Miss F.	1	0	0
Bray, Geo.	2	2	0
Brinton, H.	1	1	0
Brook, E. W.	1	0	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burnham, Lord	5	0	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£410	15	0

* For further list of Donations for Laconian Excavations, see p. 325.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1904-1905 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	410	15	0
Butcher, Dr. S. H. . . .	2	2	0
Buxton, H. E.	1	0	0
Campbell, Prof. L. . . .	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Carr, H. Wildon	1	1	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Christie, J.	1	1	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C. . .	1	1	0
Connal, W.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Cowper, H. S.	1	1	0
Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Curtis, Mrs. Omodei . .	1	0	0
Cust, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Dabis, Miss	1	1	0
Dalton, Rev. H. A. . . .	1	0	0
Davey, Rt. Hon. Lord .	5	0	0
Davidson, H. O. D. . . .	1	1	0
Des Graz, Chas.	1	1	0
Devenish, W. H.	1	0	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A. .	1	1	0
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. A.	1	1	9
Dyer, Louis	1	0	0
Earl, A. G.	1	1	0
Egerton, Rt. Hon. Earl .	10	10	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H. . . .	1	0	0
Elliot, Rev. F. R.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N. . . .	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Evans, Sir J.	5	0	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman . .	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy . .	2	2	0
Giveen, Rev. R. L. . . .	1	0	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Griffiths, F. M.	1	1	0
Haigh, A. E.	1	0	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Harvey, H. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Henderson, A. E. . . .	1	0	0
Hill, G. F.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	2	2	0
Hodgkin, Miss Violet . .	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Thomas . . .	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hunt, W. Holman . . .	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A. . . .	1	1	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
James, Rev. S. R. . . .	2	0	0
Kelly, C. A.	1	1	0
Kenyon, F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
L. J. E.	1	0	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Lingen, Lord	2	2	0
Livesay, W.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L. . .	1	0	0
Loring, W.	5	0	0
Loring, Miss	1	1	0
Lucas, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
MacLehose, James J. . .	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Mansford, C. Jodrell . .	1	1	0
Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss A. M. C. .	1	0	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T. . .	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H. . .	2	2	0
Mond, Ludwig	100	0	0
Monro, D. B.	3	3	0
Morley, Lord	1	1	0
Morshead, E. D. A. . .	1	0	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Oppé, A. P.	1	1	0
Palli, Miss F. L.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£795	19	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1904–1905 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .	795	19	0
Paul, J. D.	1	1	0
Pawson, A. H.	2	2	0
Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-Smith	1	1	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W. . . .	5	5	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Laura . . .	1	0	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F. . .	1	0	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S. . .	1	1	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Rawlinson, W. G.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Robb, Mrs.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys .	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J.	2	2	0
Sandys, Dr.	5	0	0
Scott-Moncrieff, Sir C. .	1	1	0
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, Hugh	1	1	0
Seymour, Prof. T. D. . .	1	0	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Smith, R. A. H. Bickford	1	1	0
Sole, Rev. S. H.	1	1	0
Stannus, Hugh	1	1	0
Stewart, Mrs. H. F. . .	1	1	0
Stogdon, Rev. E.	1	1	0
Tancock, Rev. C. C. . .	1	1	0
Thompson, F. E.	1	1	0
Thursfield, J. R.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	10	0	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Verrall, Dr.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	1	1	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Ward, John	1	0	0
Waldstein, C.	1	1	0
Warre, Rev. E.	1	1	0
Warren, T. H.	1	1	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Wedgwood, G.	2	2	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Welsh, Miss	1	1	0
Wernher, Sir Julius . . .	25	0	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£917	7	0

	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	917	8	0
Paid in advance last year	5	2	0
	922	10	0
Less Paid in advance at date	5	3	0
	£917	7	0

PENROSE MEMORIAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.
To Subscriptions	695	8	0
„ Interest on deposit	2	19	2
Balance provided from the General Funds of the British School at Athens	708	11	11
Including a donation of £154 16*s.* 6*d.* from the Executors of the late Lord Leighton appropriated to the new building with the consent of the Donors.			
	£1406	19	1

EXPENDITURE.

	£	s.	d.
To Builder and Decorator . .	785	11	6
„ Electric lighting	96	18	0
„ Architect and Clerk of Works	73	12	2
„ Furniture (including book-cases)	311	12	6
„ Terrace walls, laying out grounds and planting . .	97	5	5
„ Sundries (including freight, printing, &c.)	41	19	6
	£1406	19	1

GEORGE A. MACMILLAN,

Hon. Treasurer.

EXCAVATIONS IN LACONIA.

The following amounts have been received since January 1st, 1906, in response to an Appeal for Funds to carry out Excavations in Laconia, including a Detailed Survey of the Site of Ancient Sparta.

Further contributions to the Fund may be sent to the Hon. Treasurer of the School, V. W. Yorke, Esq., The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.

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	£	s.	d.
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	10	0	0
Corpus Christi College	2	2	0
Emmanuel College, Cambridge	10	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Hon J.	50	0	0
Anderson, J. R.	1	1	0
Astor, W. W.	100	0	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Baker-Penoyre, J. ff.	1	1	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Bodington, Dr.	1	1	0
Bosanquet, R. C.	10	0	0
Campbell, Prof. L.	1	0	0
Carey, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Admiral	1	1	0
Carrington, J. B.	10	0	0
Caton, Dr.	5	0	0
Cockerell, S. Pepys	1	1	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	2	2	0
Connal, W.	5	5	0
Crace, J. F.	1	1	0
Edgar, C. C.	1	0	0
Egerton, Sir E.	5	0	0
Elliot, Sir F.	10	0	0
E. P.	50	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	1	0
Gardner, Prof. P.	5	0	0
Gibson, G.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Heathcote, W. E.	3	3	0
Hodgkin, T.	10	0	0
Jones, R. P.	5	0	0
Kensington, Miss	1	1	0
King, Miss	5	0	0
King, Wilson	2	2	0
Leaf, Walter	25	0	0
Low, Lady	1	0	0
Macmillan, G. A.	25	0	0
Matthews, Mrs.	2	2	0
Mylne, Mrs.	5	0	0
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*Rodd, Sir Rennell, K.C.M.G.	10	0	0
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Spooner, Rev. W. A.	1	1	0
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Steele, D.	2	2	0
Struthers, J.	1	0	0
Tod, M. N.	2	2	0
Tod, Mrs.	2	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
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Wells, J.	2	2	0
Woods, Rev. H. G.	1	1	0

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	£	s.	d.
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Queen's College, ,,	5	0	0
Jesus College, ,,	5	0	0
Royal Institute of British Architects	10	10	0

	£	s.	d.
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Evans, Arthur J.	10	0	0
Farrer, Sir W.	15	0	0
Fowler, W. Warde	1	1	0
Fox, G. H.	1	0	0
Hasluck, P. P.	5	5	0
Hodgin, R. H.	2	0	0
James, Lionel	1	1	0
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Mackenzie, D.	2	0	0
Miall, Prof. L. C.	2	0	0
Page, T. E.	1	1	0
Phelps, Rev. L. R.	1	1	0
Reich, Dr. Emil	3	3	0
'From Rome'	1	0	0
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Stucley, Sir Lewis	10	10	0
Whately, A. P.	5	5	0

* For investigation of Frankish fortresses.

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Vaughan, H., Esq.
Vaughan, E. L., Esq., Eton College.
Verrall, A. W., Esq., Litt.D., Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
Vince, J. H. Esq., Bradfield College, Berkshire.

Wace, Mrs., Calverton House, Stoney Stratford.
Waldstein, Prof. Charles, Litt.D., King's College, Cambridge.
Wandsworth, The Right Hon. Lord, 10, Great Stanhope Street, W.
Wantage, The Lady, 2, Carlton Gardens, S.W.
Ward, Dr. A. W., Peterhouse College, Cambridge.
Ward, John, Esq., J.P., F.S.A., Lenoxvale, Belfast.
Warren, T. H., Esq., President of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Waterhouse, Edwin, Esq., Feldemore, near Dorking.
Weber, Sir. H., M.D., 10, Grosvenor Street, W.
Welsh, Miss Silvia M. Torrington, S. Mary's Road, Ditton Hill.
Wells, J., Esq., Wadham College, Oxford.
Wernher, Sir Julius, Bart., 82, Piccadilly, W.
West, H. H., Esq., c/o R. W. West, Esq., Casa Bianca, Alassio, N. Italy.
Whateley, A. P., Esq., 4, Southwick Crescent, W.
Whibley, Leonard, Esq., Pembroke College, Cambridge.
Wilson, R. D., Esq., 38, Upper Brook Street, W.
Wimborne, The Right Hon. Lord, 22, Arlington Street, S.W.
Winkworth, Mrs., Holly Lodge, Campden Hill, W.
Wroth, Warwick, Esq., British Museum, W.C.

Yorke, V. W., Esq., 9 Upper Brook St., W.
Yule, Miss A., Tarradale House, Ross-shire.

DIRECTORS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1905

F. C. PENROSE, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., 1886—1887.
ERNEST A. GARDNER, M.A., 1887—1895.
CECIL H. SMITH, LL.D., 1895—1897.
DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A., 1897—1900.
R. CARR BOSANQUET, M.A., 1900—

HONORARY STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1905

Prof. J. B. Bury, LL.D., Litt.D., D.Litt.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Elected 1895.
Arthur J. Evans, Esq., LL.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.	Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum Oxford. Elected 1895.
J. Linton Myres, Esq., M.A.	A former Student of the School. Elected 1896.
Prof. Ernest Gardner, M.A.	Formerly Director of the School. Elected 1897.
Prof. A. van Millingen, M.A., D.D.	Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople. Elected 1904.

STUDENTS OF THE SCHOOL.

1886—1905.

Ernest A. Gardner. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Craven University Student. Yates Professor of Archaeology at University College, London. Admitted 1886—87. Director of the School, 1887—1895. Hon. Student of the School.
David G. Hogarth. M.A.	Fellow and formerly Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford, and first Craven Fellow. Director of the School 1897—1900. Admitted 1886—87. Re-admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Rupert C. Clarke. M.A.	Exeter College, Oxford. Rector of Ellesborough, Bucks. Admitted 1886—87.
F. H. H. Guillemard M.A., M.D., F.L.S., etc.	Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. First University Reader in Geography. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88.
Montague R. James. Litt.D.	Provost and late Tutor of King's College, Cambridge. Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1887—88, with grant of £100 from the University.
R. Elsey Smith. F.R.I.B.A.	Professor of Architecture and Construction, King's College, London. Appointed to Studentship by Royal Institute of British Architects, 1887—88.
Robert Weir Schultz.	Admitted as Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy of Arts, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1888—89, 1889—90.
Sidney H. Barnsley.	Admitted as Student of the Royal Academy, 1887—88. Re-admitted 1889—90, 1890—91.
J. A. R. Munro. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Lincoln College, Oxford. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
H. Arnold Tubbs. M.A.	Pembroke College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Professor of Classics at University College, Auckland, N.Z. Admitted (for work in Cyprus) 1888—89. Re-admitted (for same purpose) 1889—90.
J. G. Frazer. M.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90, with grant of £100 from the University of Cambridge to collect material for commentary on Pausanias.[1]
William Loring. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Warden of the Goldsmiths' College, New Cross. Secretary of the School 1897—1903. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1889—90. Re-admitted as Craven University Student, 1890—91, 1891—92, and 1892—93.

[1] This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

W. J. Woodhouse. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Professor of Greek in the University of Sydney, N.S.W. Formerly Lecturer in Ancient History and Political Philosophy at the University of St. Andrews. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1889—90 Re-admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1891—92 and 1892—93.

G. C. Richards. M.A. Late Fellow of Hertford College. Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. Formerly Professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1889—90. Re-admitted 1890—91.

O. H. Parry. B.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Archbishop's Missioner to the Nestorian Christians. Admitted 1889—90.

J. F. R. Stainer M.A., B.C.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1889—90.

R. A. H. Bickford-Smith. M.A., F.S.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1889—90.

A. G. Bather. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Winchester College. Admitted 1889—90. Re-admitted 1891—92, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship 1892—93 as Prendergast Greek Student; and again, 1893—94, as Cambridge Student.

E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.

J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.

H. Stuart Jones. M.A. Formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.

Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Girton College, Cambridge. Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.

F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.

C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Curate of Cranleigh, Guildford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.

E. F. Benson. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.

J. G. Piddington M.A. (J. G. Smith) Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.

V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.

J. L. Myres. M.A. Student and Tutor of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology in the University of Oxford. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94, and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.

R. J. G. Mayor. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.

R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director since 1900. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95, Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96, and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
T. Duncan.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894–95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895–6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
Charles R. R. Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect to Arab Monuments Committee, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Formerly in the Education Department, Cairo. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis.	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.

A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
J. H. Marshall. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student 1900—01
Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson.	Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Literature at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
S. C. Kaines-Smith.	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Formerly Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth, Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904—05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. B.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.
J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian of the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Lecturer in Archaeology at Liverpool University, 1906. Admitted 1900—01.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901-02.

F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education Formerly Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrew's University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. B.A.	Victoria College, Toronto. Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1903-04. Re-admitted 1904—05.
E. S. Forster. M.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Readmitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04. 1904—05.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. F. Fulton.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Lecturer in Greek at the Birmingham University. Admitted 1903-04.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Scholarship. Admitted 1903-04.
G. Dickins. B.A.	New College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05.
C. C. T. Doll. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. B.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian.
Miss G. M. A. Richter.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	„	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	„	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	„	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	„	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	„	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	„	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	„	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	„	1903.

METHODS OF WORK AND TEACHING.

Extracted from a recent report of the present Director to the Managing Committee

UNDER an ideal system most students would spend two, some three, seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year a man need not lose sight of his special subject, but in most cases it would pay him to adopt something like the following programme:

[August and] *September.* In Berlin (Munich, Dresden) to become familiar with spoken German and so be able to profit by some of the 3 or 4 courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of German and Austrian Institutes.

October. Arrive in Greece. Face the difficulties of language and travelling. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Heraeum near Argos, before the rains begin in November.

About *November* 15. Settle down in Hostel for 3 or 4 months of steady work on sites and in Museums, attending some of the half-dozen available courses of lectures, and making frequent short excursions into the country, by train, bicycle, carriage, or on mule-back. A bicycle is invaluable.

This residence in the Hostel, with occasional absences for a few nights in the country, should last until the beginning or middle of March according to the season.

March, April. Travel, study ancient sites.

If possible join one of the island-cruises to which Professor Gardner and Professor Dörpfeld have hospitably admitted students in the past.

May, June. Begin to concentrate attention on special work: *e.g.* a man may assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control or independence in his second summer: or he may explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or group of islands: or he may work his way homewards through a number of Museums in Italy, Austria and Germany: or attend Mau's summer course of lectures at Pompeii and afterwards spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In the latter case he will do well to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), where a library is being formed and advice and information may be obtained.

For the *second year* it is impossible to formulate a definite scheme. It should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified in different ways to suit each case. There will always be men who, like most of the French students, are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. On the other hand there will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life, to visit sites and battle fields, illuminating and colouring their past reading and fitting themselves for general classical teaching, but have no time for minute archaeological studies.

It is evident that in each year the methods and matter of the teaching at the School must be adapted to the requirements of the students. Students from English universities will never have the love of formal lectures which distinguishes those from America, and where the numbers are small it will often be better to teach, as Dr. Wolters has been in the habit of doing, by means of informal visits to sites and Museums.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archæology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archæology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archæological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring, under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit, or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School, and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors, may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1906.

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June, 1906.

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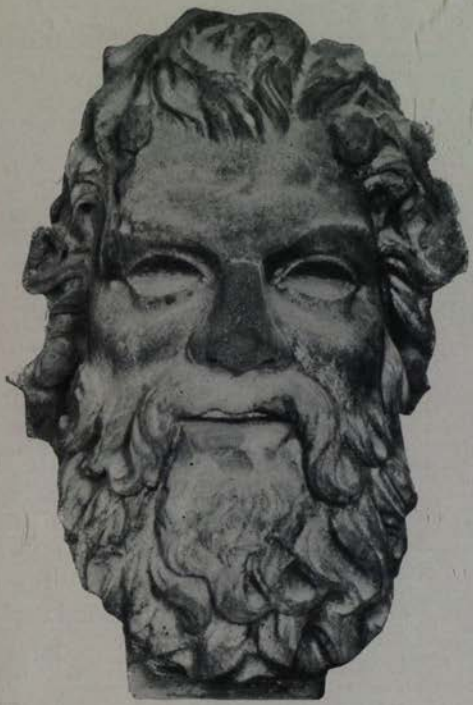

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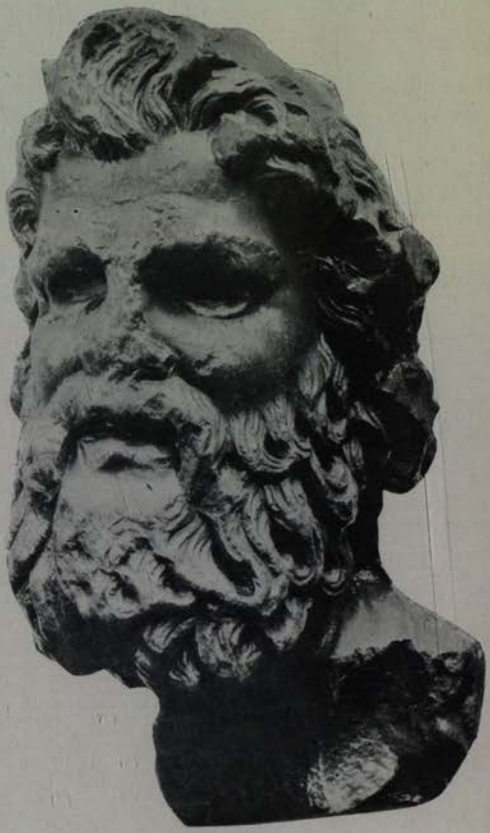

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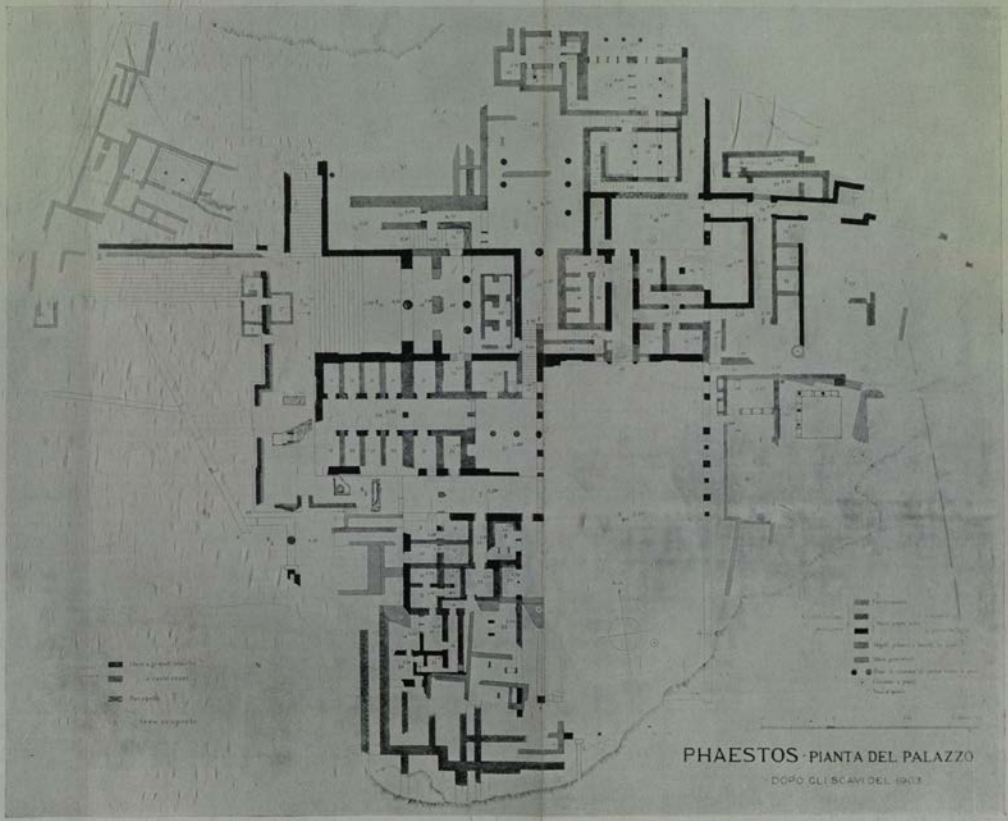
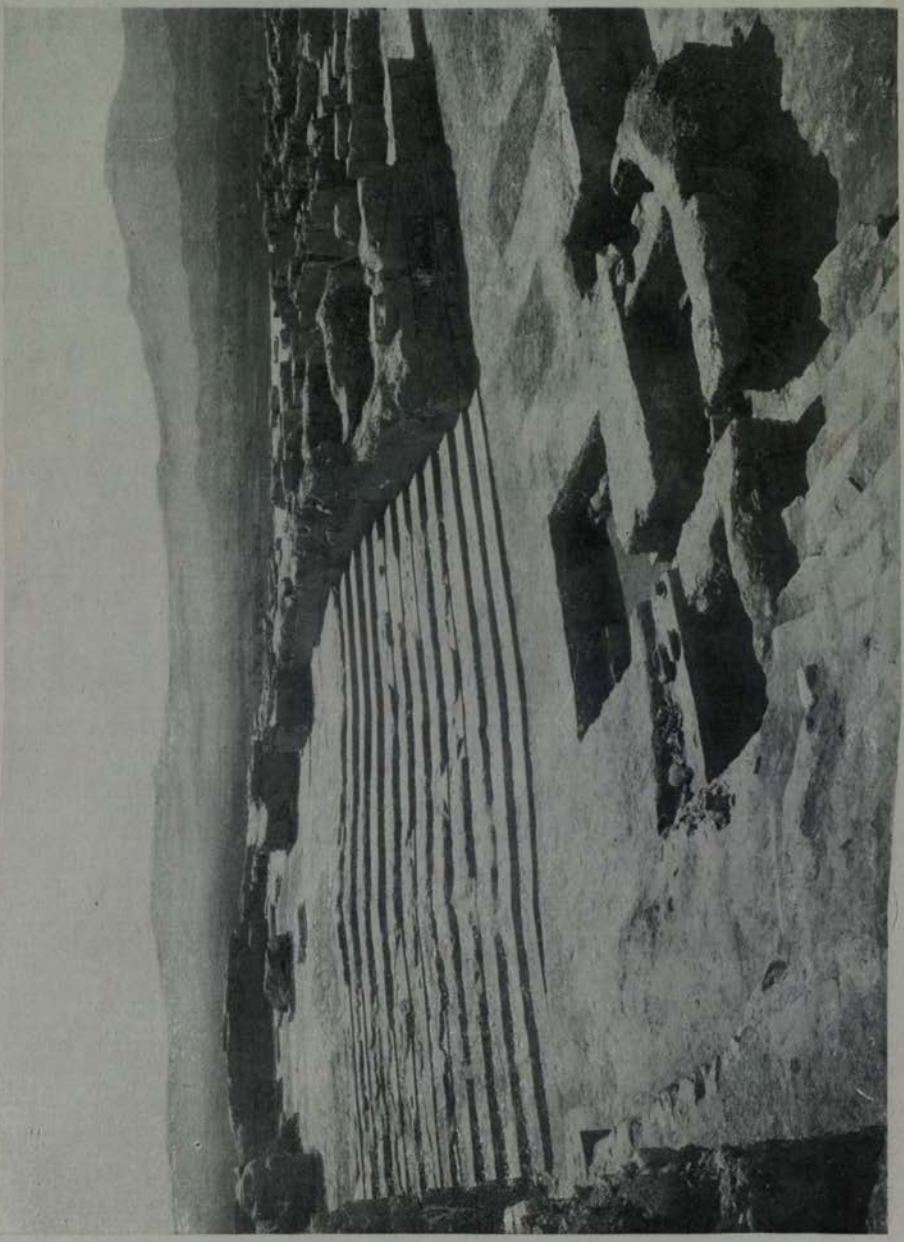


PLAN OF THE PALACE AT PHAESTOS (after *Mon. Ant.* xiv. Tav. xxvii.).
WITH ADDITIONS SHOWING THE RESULT OF LATER EXCAVATIONS.



View of the State Entrance at Phaestos.

VIEW OF THE NINTH MAGAZINE. PALACE OF KNOSSOS.

Neolithic Objects from Magasá.
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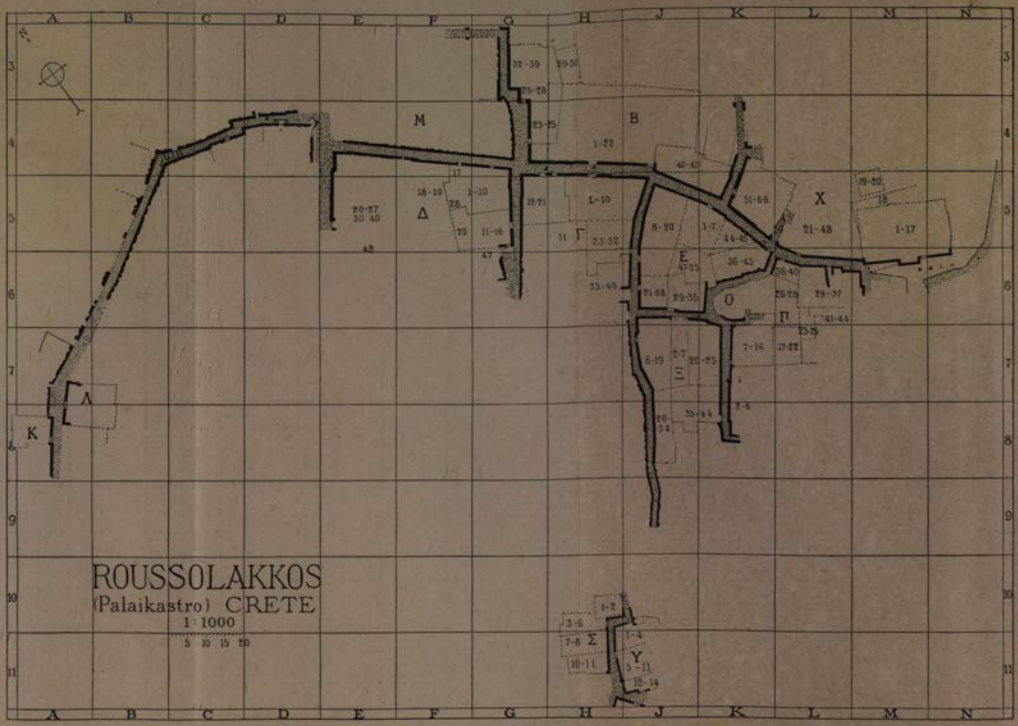
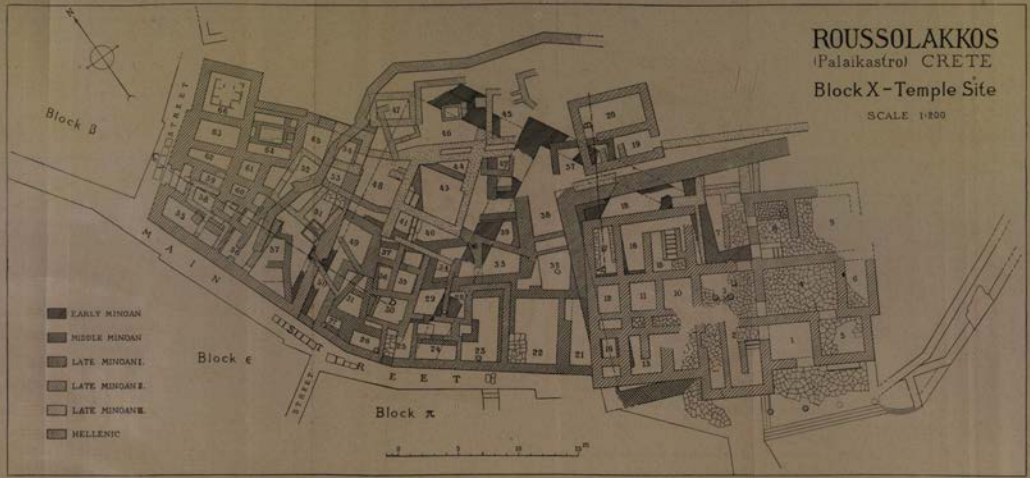
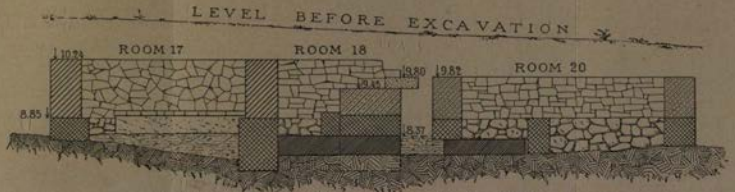


Palaikastro. Key Plan of the Town.


ROUSSOLAKKOS
(Palaikastro) CRETE
Block X – Temple Site
SCALE 1:200
Block β
Block ε
Block π
MAIN STREET
EARLY MINOAN
MIDDLE MINOAN
LATE MINOAN I.
LATE MINOAN II.
LATE MINOAN III.
HELLENIC

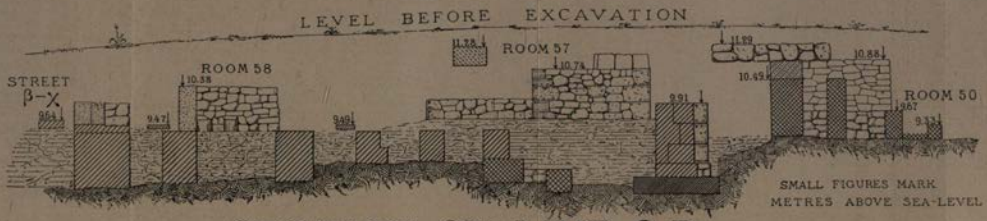


SECTION ON LINE A-B

LOOKING WEST

EARLY MINOAN
MIDDLE MINOAN
LATE MINOAN I.
LATE MINOAN II.
LATE MINOAN III.
HELLENIC

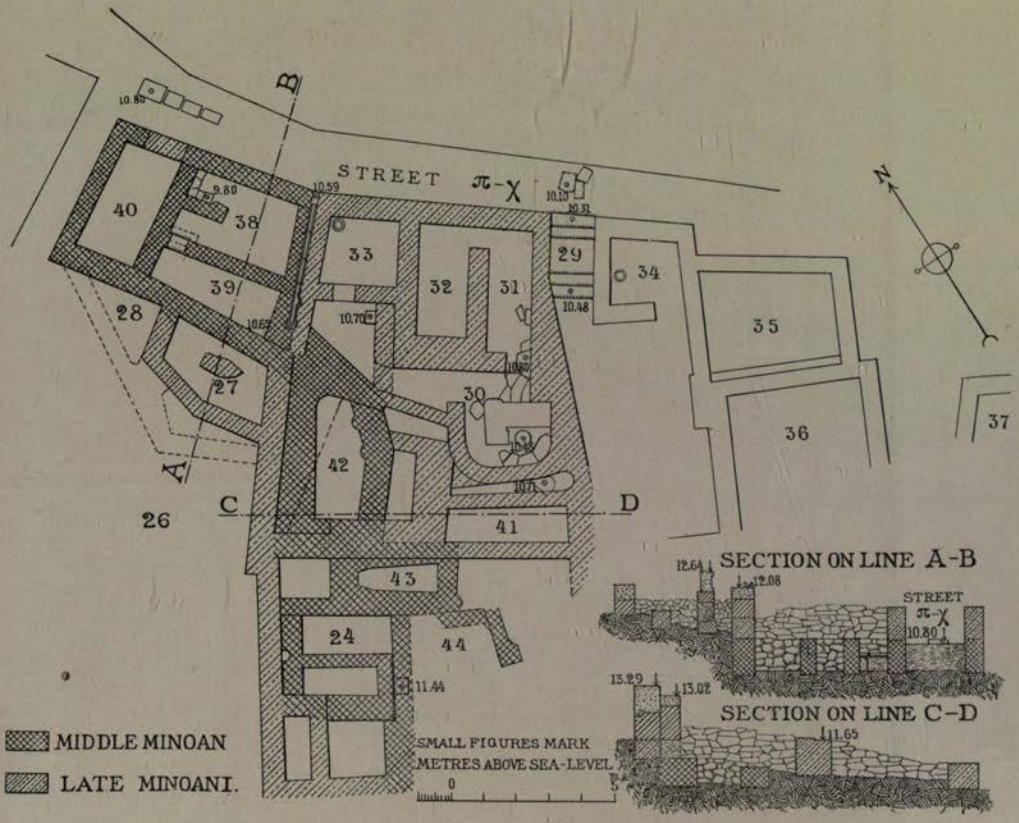
100 50 0 5 m



SECTION ON LINE C-D

LOOKING NORTH

PALAIKASTRO. SECTIONS IN BLOCK χ. TEMPLE SITE.



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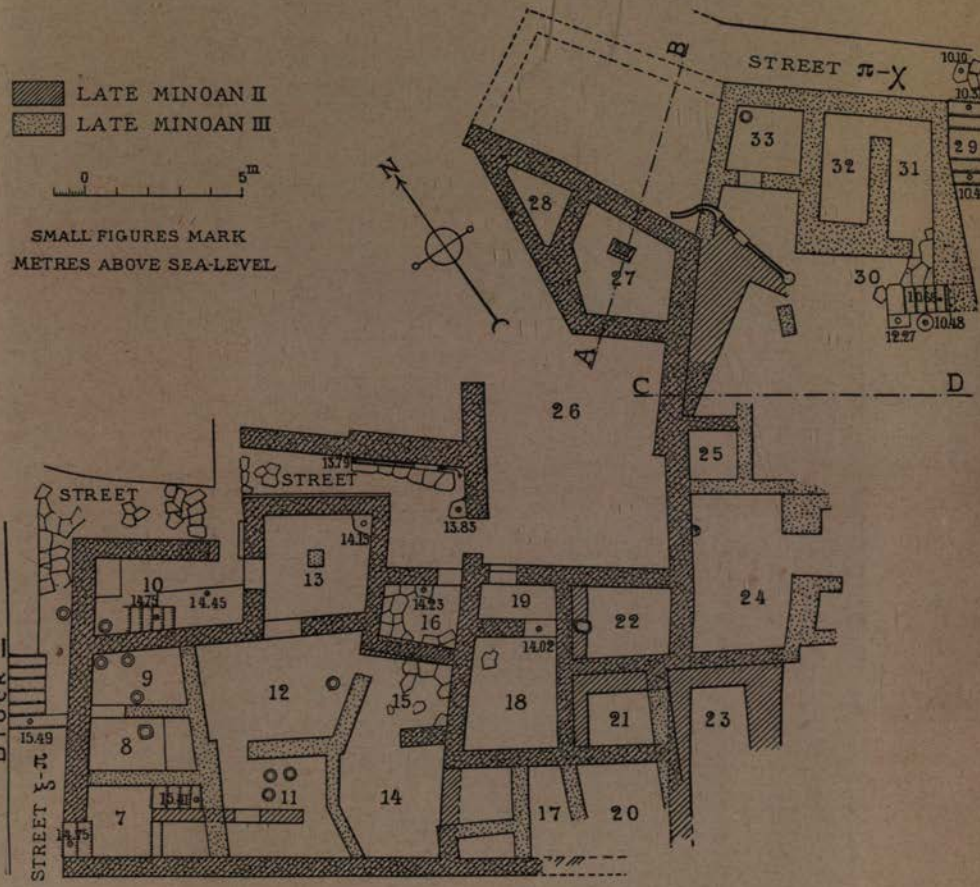
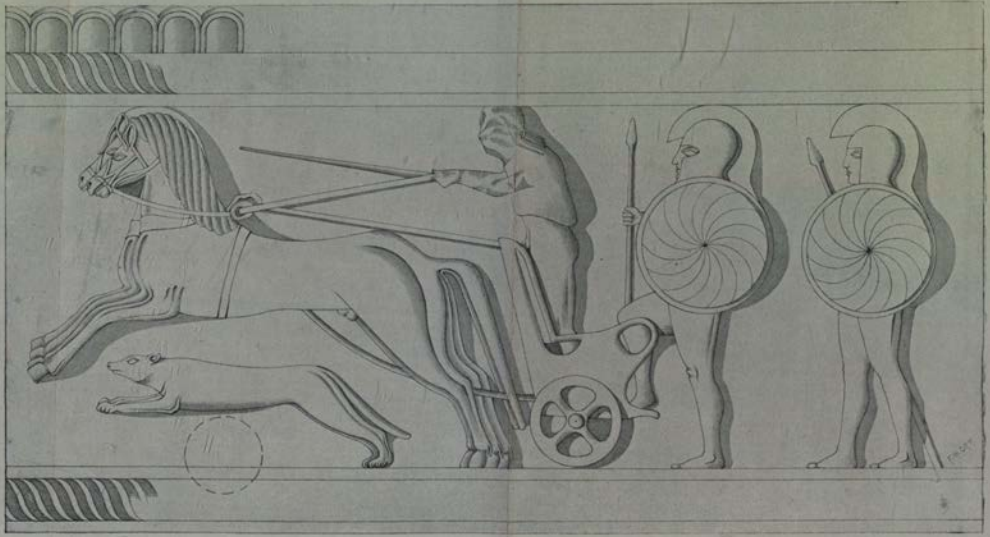


PALAIKASTRO. BLOCK Ψ. LATE MINOAN I. AND LATE MINOAN II. WALLS.

A

B

PALAIKASTRO. A. WATER CHANNELS IN BLOCK π. B. STEPS IN THE MAIN STREET.



TERRACOTTA SIMA FROM THE TEMPLE OF DICTAEAN ZEUS.
(Scale 1 : 3.)

Bronze Shield from the Temple of Dictaean Zeus.
(Scale 1 : 2.)

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